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ABSTRACT

In the broader context of school decentralization, two school-community groups in Toronto were studied in order to determine the establishment and developmental stages of such groups, and the processes whereby inputs are exchanged between school and community. One of the groups was Chinese and predominantly working class, the other was largely middle class and Anglo, with a substantial ethnic component (Greek). Data were collected by participant observation methods. Analysis of the data yielded the following major conclusions: (1) School boundary personnel (i.e. personnel who deal with both school and community), and particularly the principal, play key roles in determining how successful the school community relationship will be. (2) When the community involved is a middle class English-speaking one, the common socioeconomic backgrounds of community members and school staff, the numerous organizational and communicative skills of community members, and the relatively abundant social resources at the community's disposal make a cooperative staff-parent group, auxiliary to the school, a viable mechanism for community input. (3) Lower class ethnic communities, lacking such skills and resources, are much less likely to organize themselves successfully. In such communities however, outside agencies, employing personnel with the appropriate language and culture, can organize parents and other community members around a single salient school issue. The resulting groups are "autonomous" community organizations rather than "auxiliary" school-community groups. (CMG)

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LOCAL COMMUNITY INPUT INTO URBAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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I. INTRODUCTION

In this century the Western way of life has been profoundly affected by the "mass society" phenomenon. The German sociologist Tonnies distinguished mass society, typified by masses of undifferentiated persons, mass communications, and mass education, as Gesellschaft - "characterized by the evaporation of moral bonds, the shrivelling of kinship and traditional institutions and beliefs, and the isolation of the individual from his fellows." (Shills, 1962: p.46). Yet up until now, modern mass society has been a largely integrated one; vertically through its power-authority hierarchy and status order, and horizontally through the unity of the elites of similar subunits and related sectors of society (Shills, 1962). There is also much moral consensus of the whole. The peripheral sectors of society are brought closer to the centre in thought and deed through increased communication and the benefits of the welfare society. Generally speaking, modern Western mass society has enjoyed a significant measure of fundamental and broad consensus in those areas vital to internal civil harmony. Also, individuals value the rights and freedoms accruing from their common citizenship. The integration of the individual into the central institutional and value systems of mass society is of great importance. As a result, "government is more continuously and effectively in contact with much of the population through the variety and comprehensiveness of its legislation, through the continuity and intensity of administration, through nearly universal public education until well into adolescence." (Shills, 1962: p.49-50). Indeed, "education for the great [mass] society involves raising teacher salaries, building more schools, using computers and audio-visual devices to supply training and meet the manpower needs of the 'national interest'." (Newmann & Oliver, 1967: p.62).

Western political and philosophical thought has long revered the virtues of individualism, universalism, and rationalism. The liberal mass society, as an aggregate of equal independant individuals, has only reluctantly endured the existance of communities of 'limited liability' (M. P. Effrat, 1974). These more specified, voluntaristic associations are merely the partial institutionalization of neighborliness and perhaps a reflection of enlightened self-interest more than anything else. In any event the local community is a conservative ideal oposed to liberal-rational-universalistic modern society (Fein, 1971). The tenets of liberal ideology, ubiquitous and pervasive in their impact upon social planning in the U.S. and Canada during this century, have also helped promulgate large scale centralized institutions (including educational systems), and served to restrain the amount of local community influence upon, and control of, such institutions. Liberal attitudes are held by educators and administrators alike who have generally accepted that the assimilation of minority groups (i.e.: ethnic, etc.) into the majority (mass) culture is a primary role of public education.

Any school system is established to achieve certain goals within a framework of rules, procedures, and divisions of labour and authority. North American educational systems feature bureaucratic centralized organizational structures in most instances. They are this way not only as a consequence of mass liberal society but also specifically in response to the real increase in numbers of pupils, the 'knowlege explosion', and the growing economic importance of education. These education systems have a vast array of higly trained specialists, standard organizational forms, hierarchical systems of authority, and rules defining role-interactions between incumbant office holders. Of utmost importance within the bureaucracy of

education is the emergence of professionalism. Large centralized teachers' associations and unions are key participants in the resolution of many system-wide issues. The negotiated union contract, as an important document of school policy, addresses salaries, fringe benefits, working conditions, and increasingly in recent times; special programs, team teaching, class size, curriculum matters, etc. Adherence to nationally accepted professional norms and practices serve to further standardize education throughout North America. These educational professionals are demanding that decisions concerning an ever increasing range of 'professional' matters be left to their discretion, without lay interference, as only they are competent enough to properly make the required judgements. It would seem, then, that "Weber's theory of a specialized bureaucracy, monopolizing power through its control of expertise, accurately described the role of the educational bureaucracy" (Gittell, 1970: p.72) in recent Western society. Given the centralized bureaucratic structure, professional nature, and the underlying ideology of the educational establishment, it would appear to be a difficult proposition to substantially alter the formal teaching systems of North America.

Increasingly in the past decade much public concern and criticism has been directed at public schools throughout Canada and the U.S. This has been especially true in large urban centres. It is evident that North American cities are not populated solely with modern liberal independant-rationalistic individuals; they are also made up of a series of different quasi-organic communities (ethnic, religious, racial, socio-economic, etc.). Such communities are used as "launching points" and "bases for respite" by their members, and loyalites are split between the wider national scene and the local community in which membership is maintained. Typically a person can be part of an

ethnic community and still identify with the state as an individual, thereby keeping a cultural identity and self-image within the larger more impersonal society. Yet this king of "structural and cultural pluralism" (Fein, 1971) is not recognized by public school systems in Canada or the U.S. When pupils are identified as members of minority communities most often they are assumed to be 'culturally deprived' and in need of compensatory or remedial education in order that they might be successful in the normalized competition that exists within liberal educational institutions. Despite the schools' efforts, minority group students have not fared well in our present educational systems - the result being wide spread failure of urban school systems in achieving equality of educational outcomes for the different communities they serve. Consequently, some local communities have lost confidence in the schools' ability to educate their children, and the ineffectiveness of schooling has lead these groups to question the legitimacy of the professionals' control of the educational system (Fein, 1971). This development is most salient in big-city centres whose numerous ethnic and racial communities feel alienated from school systems which seem to suggest to parents that their culture is a basic cause of their children's poor academic performance. The problem of unequal educational outcomes divided upon ethnic and/or class lines must be addressed by those responsible for the organization of public education If various groups of students have different needs, temperments, and cultural identifications, allowances must be made for the use of different means to attain the liberal end of equal educational outcomes for all. Values and norms at the core of society-wide culture must be sustained but periphery parochial cultural orientations should be reflected in the teaching methods and curricula of particular schools.

It was once widely held that

> "education is a unique function, in which the contention and partisonship that accompany elections ought to be avoided. Furthermore, high-minded men and women might be discouraged from serving on school boards if they had to go through the trouble, expense, and possible abuse of an election." (Fantini, Gittell, & Magat, 1970: p.65).

Under the cloak of this 'myth' of political neutrality socio-economic and political elites have legitimized their power to establish educational norms. Teachers and administrators have also used the myth to persuade the community to sanction their authority within schools by way of conveying to them the privileges and prerogatives of professionals. Many critical areas such as personnel and curriculum are said by professional educators to require expert judgement, and as such the public must not encroach upon the experts' sovereignty in these regards. Studies suggest that elected school boards are often 'co-opted' by the educational bureaucracy into acting as agenices of legitimization for the educational professionals, rather than as representatives of the community to the school administrators (Coleman, 1974). The centralization, standardization, and specialization (all in the cause of 'efficiency') which characterize public education in large cities allow little democratic participation. Furthermore, the domination of urban school boards by social elites and educational administrative bureaucrats; the growing professional stance assumed by educators at all levels; and the sheer size of urban school systems (Lopate et al, 1970), are all factors contributing to an ever widening gap between educational decision-makers and the local community. "No harmony between teacher and parent, teacher and pupil, can begin to exist while both are isolated from each other by a bureaucratic system

designed as a barrier." (Berube, 1970: p.43). The poor, most urban ethnic communities, and the urban 'disadvantaged' generally are the most alienated by this system. This is so despite the existance of P.T.A.'s and Home & School associations. The education establishment has not delegated genuine power to such groups, forcing them to rely upon the informal pressure and influence their membership can employ. Even this limited power is denied to those who do not possess the social, policital, or economic resources necessary to enjoy some effective measure of informal control (Clark, 1967). Moreover, the mere existance of these kinds of organizations "has often pre-empted or precluded the formation of other public groups with a direct policy role." (Fantini, Gittell & Magat, 1970: p.74). One can readily see that the changes for policy input from the local community are very restricted in these circumstances. Yet despite the bureaucratic structure, professional nature, and underlying ideology of the educational establishment, demands for greater local community control of schools have resulted in some increase of meaningful parental participation at the individual school level.

There are essentially three categories of parental involvement in schooling: service, student instruction, and decision-making (A. Pomfret, 1972). Participation at the first two levels of activities, service (eg.: health aides, secretarial assistants, community-liason officers, etc.) and student instruction (i.e.: in support of and/or as a supplement to the professional teacher), does not constitute any fundamental change in the actual control of schools - professional educators still run things in their own way. "The use of parents as teacher aides, the use of skilled residents as resources in instruction and, perhaps, the strengthening of parent associations or other groups in advisory or consultative capacities" (Fantini,

Gittell, & Magat, 1970: p.81) does not give the community a decisive voice in school decisions. The third level of parental participation, decision-making, remains an extremely topical and contentious issue. Many teachers and school administrators steadfastly maintain their professional orietation vis-à-vis the education process and are reluctant to permit lay intrusion into what they regard as their legitimate sphere of expertise. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, most of the recent demand for community control of urban schools has arisen out of the failure of urban school systems to produce equal levels of educational outcomes across social lines. Socio-economically homogeneous neighborhoods and ethnic/racial minority groups (especially blacks in larger U.S. cities) are recognized to have special educational needs and have themselves expressed special educational wants. Most big-city school systems have responded by attempting to improve the quality of teaching and by introducing special educational programs; yet these efforts have been without substantial success. The question as to what must be done to reverse the pattern of failure for minority and lower-class urban children is still immediate and pressing.

> "The answer is rooted in the premise that basic reform of a public institution does not simply consist of apparent improvements in the quality of its professional functions; it depends also, and inextricably, on the strength of the political process through which the institution is governed. The improvement of professional function without democratic process is technocracy. The failure or short life of many purely pedagogical reform movements in public education may be traced to the absence of participation by parents and the community." (Fantini, Gittell, & Magat, 1970: p.175).

In response to the call for greater community participation and policy input into local schools, the concept of "community school" has developed.

A 'community school' has been described in many ways by many people but most of its proponents would agree that among its goals are increased co-operation and interaction between school and community. Volunteer parents and other community members are brought into the school as resource persons. In the area of policy formation the community is likely to participate in a consultative or advisory capacity; not having any real authority to act. Hence, the actual power in decision-making and ultimate control of nearly all school policy matters rests within the purview of the professionals. In most instances, the general agreement on the role of 'education', the community's deference to the professionals, and its apathy as a result of the system's bureaucratization, produces a "zone of tolerance" (or amount of latitude), granted to the school by the community, which is wide enough to avert any real confrontation over school policy and control (McGivney & Moynihan, 1972). Even when this zone of tolerance is overstepped by educators, the polity of education (i.e.: its institutional arrangement of power in decision-making and policy implementation) is such that it does not provide for input from the local community (Green, 1962).

When 'community control' of schools is under consideration, community participation at the third level, decision-making, is an integral component. Unless the local community plays a determining role (in conjunction with the professionals) in the formation of overall school policy and makes personnel, budget, and curriculum decisions, 'community control' is not being exercised. By what means is community control exercised? "Community control does not imply, as some fear, an ever present horde of parents and other neighborhood residents serving as watch dogs in every school." (Fantini, Gittell, & Magat, 1970: p.xviii). As one community control advocate in New York City

explained;

> "What we are talking about is not parents coming in becoming teachers and principals. We still feel the professionals must be there, but let them be the professionals of our choice." (Quoted in Fantini, Gittell, & Magat, 1970: p.92).

Some authors conceive of "a representative parent-community council" with the power to hire and fire teachers and administrators, and to set curricula, standards of evaluation, etc. (Fantini, Gittell, & Magat, 1970). Another feels that "community control means self-determining power of elected (local) school boards over budget, personnel, and curriculum." (Berube, 1970: p.42). Whatever scheme employed there must be sizable administrative reconstruction in order to accommodate the new local decision-making bodies (i.e.: the agents of local control). Meaningful parental participation in the decision-making processes of urban school systems has been shown to be too limited in quality and quantity because the systems' large centralized organizational structures (Lopate et al, 1970) act as barriers (Berube, 1970). Therefore, the reform of the educational system requires the development of smaller decision-making units which have the capacity to adapt in response to local community needs. Recognizing that adaptability may perhaps be the most important characteristic of an administrative school district (Gittell, 1970); "the first step to better education in city schools is to transfer educational power to a series of autonomous community-controlled local school districts." (Berube, 1970: p.45). Proponents of community control envision the decentralization of existing school systems as a major means of achieving this step.

School decentralization in its barest forms is technically an administrative device wherein a dispersal of managerial functions and responsibilities takes place with ultimate power remaining in the central agency. Obviously if adaptability and responsivenss to the system's clientele are the aims of school decentralization, then administrative decentralization must be coupled with increased participation and control by the local community. The entire concept of decentralization is reduced to mere geographical dispersal of administrative tasks unless the new and smaller school districts so formed are made largely autonomous units, and are governed by locally elected boards under only limited and restricted supervision by the central education agency. Yet most enduring experiments in decentralization have not produced 'community control' nor succeeded in entrusting decision-making and policy formation responsibilities to the local community - "What emerged in most big-city school decentralized plans, then, was a degree of transfer of authority over such decisions as curriculum, personnel, and some budgetary and business decisions to professionals on an administrative level near the school or neighborhood." (Cronin, 1973: p.207). Hence, the success of community control of urban schools through decentralization rests in large measure upon the formation of democratically chosen local school boards; empowered with the authority to autonomously control curriculum, personnel, and finances; and accountable solely to the local community which elected it. Of great importance, then, is the composition of the local boards and the electoral process by which its membership is determined.

Supporters of community control of schools through decentralization generally call for substantial representation of pupils' parents on local boards to ensure that such assemblies are more

responsive to the needs of the pupils in particular, and the local community in general.

> "Real parental participation covers a wide range of involvement but the irreducible minimum is a part in the selection of those who govern the schools. ... The vehicle of participation may be structures at the individual school level or elected bodies on a neighborhood basis" (Fantini, Gittell, & Magat, 1970: p.92).

Even if the local school board is made a "parents only" board (i.e.: parents only would form the electorate and be eligible to run for election to the board) this does not ensure that the board will be equally responsive to all schools (and students) under its jurisdiction.

> "If urban political participation runs true to form the relatively rich in each district will probably dominate the Regional Boards. Past experience shows that these people have tended to ignore the poorer schools and school clientele. The rich have taken care of their own schools in their part of school districts first and the others second." (Moore & Johnston, 1971: p.433).

The application of community control at the individual school level might appear to be a simple solution, but the political and ideological climate of the day make single autonomously governed schools highly unlikely in the public sector. Prevailing attitudes also mitigate against the formation of very small districts, dictating that the size of the 'neighborhood' boards should not be such that each separate narrow interest group controls its own separate, intensely parochial schools. Ergo, "districts should be large enough to contain substantial diversity." (Fein, 1971: p.86). The Bundy Report recommended units of 12,000 to 40,000 pupils as plausible districts for New York City. Districts of these large proportions would seem to be just the size to

allow the richer 'community' members to numerically dominate the local district board. It is also argued elsewhere that districts of this size are primarily just administrative devices (Pfautz, in Levin, 1970) too large to constitute even the loosest quasi-organic community (James & Levin, in Levin, 1970), and hence are of little value.

Within a decentralized system there remains many checks and balances which serve to restrict the autonomy of local boards. The major power groups within a decentralized school system include the central board of education and its professional bureaucracy, the teachers' collectivity, the local community boards, and the provincial and federal (i.e.: through grants) governments. The provincial government is responsible for teacher certification, and controls the financing of public education through grants and the setting of ceilings on the expenditures of all school boards. Furthermore, the tendency for teachers' unions to in effect negotiate directly with the state/provincial government is evident both here in Ontario (and all of Canada) and in the U.S. (Cronin, 1973). Consequently, the city-wide contract so formed (involving the teachers' union and the city's central board), and the extensive state/provincial government involvement in education play prominent roles even in decentralized-community control school systems.

> "Both the city and the state will counterbalance the local power structure; ... state education departments will set standards and make policies that will influence the actions of local governing boards ... [and] local board power will be constrained and influenced by city-wide standards and policies." (Gittell, in Levin, 1970: p.136).

The creation of these 'semi-autonomous' local boards, enjoying extensive

decision-making powers, should provide a greater measure of local community input but each local board must co-operate with the other participants (eg.: professionals, central board, governments, and parents of individual schools, etc.) in the educational endeavor. Yet many observers still look to increased community control of schools through the decentralization of big-city school systems as the most realistically viable solution to the present problems in urban education. "Decentralization-community control is an attempt to achieve school reform while retaining the basic framework of public education." (Gittel, 1970: p.82). The hope is that community control through decentralization will achieve the goal of increased adaptability and responsiveness of schools by way of the creative development of the existing structures in a manner such that the different interests of the various 'stakeholders' in the educational enterprise can be accommodated.

Community control of schooling has been mentioned at two levels; at the level of the individual school and at the local district (neighborhood) level. The prospect of a system of autonomous community controlled individual schools does not appear to be a realistic possibility in Canada or the U.S. Also, decentralization-community control is not without its difficulties, and would at this point in time seem to be at most only a long range possibility in Canadian cities. But in the meantime the debate on education has not been without effect on urban school systems. In many urban areas school boards have become more politicized and a new breed of school trustee has emerged. These new school board members are much more active in their local constituencies as community organizers and leading advocates of local school reform efforts. In the past many persons ran (and some still do) for

trustee's office to increase their personal prestige or as a first step in the political ladder to higher government. Typically these trustees gave very little of their time to the job and generally remained quite uninformed and uninvolved with local community educational issues. Judith Teichman considers such trustees to be "independent" types who use their independent judgement during their term of office; not consulting their constituents or in some cases deliberately ignoring them. On the other hand, increasing numbers of urban trustees are coming under the "delegate" classification. These trustees view "their main function as communicators of the community's wishes while actively consulting their constituents." (Teichman, 1974: p.66). It is a struggle, though, for politically active, community oriented trustees to be effective agents of change.

> "The trustee is in a system that is very linear. It goes through the parent and child at the absolute bottom, through the teacher, principal, administrator, a provincial administrator, minister of education to Bill Davis [the Priemier of Ontario] . The trustees aren't needed in that system for the system to work". (Lechie & Spencer, 1974: p.4).

Most often "independent" trustees prefer to ask the Director of Education and his professional staff for a report when problems arise. Consultation in these instances is usually only with administrative personnel (down to the level of principal). The recommendations of the director are usually readily followed by the "independent" trustees on the board. Whereas this process excludes community involvement, the "delegate" trustees have attempted to shift their frame of reference away from the professional administrators towards their constituents - i.e.: the local community. These trustees have encouraged the formation

of community-parents groups which hope to promote greater local community input into schools. In addition, these groups have used the support of these trustees to legitimize their power in the eyes of teachers and principals in individual schools, as well as to force real changes in policy at the wider board level. It is these newly emerging school-community groups with which the present study is concerned.

At the city-wide level the Toronto Board of Education recently established a Work Group on Multicultural Programs to investigate and make recommendations to enable the Board to be responsive enough to meet the changing needs of its schools' communities. "The Work Group regards school-community interaction to be an essential component for the system's responsiveness to its population." (Draft Report of the Work Group on Multicultural Programs, 1975: p.ii). The Work Group accepted briefs and oral presentations from schools, parents, various ethnic communities, and numerous other community groups as well (i.e.: informal groups, school-community organizations, etc.). Obviously the Board recognizes the need for consultation with local school communities and is vitally interested in school-community groups with an ethnic flavour. Hopefully, this study can add to the work done by the Work Group in a complimentary fashion.

The next two chapters outline the basic rationale, methodology, and theoretical framework which were employed to gather and classify data. Subsequent chapters, dealing with the two community groups to be studied, will form a 'natural history' of each following their development chronologically. The intent in these first chapters is to provide to the reader the general theoretical perspective used and to present the data collected "like it is". The analysis,

reserved for Chapter VI, draws upon the theoretical overview in Chapter III in an attempt to generate explanations and understandings of the events chronicled in Chapters IV and V. The conclusions and recommendations arising out of this analysis will be found in the final chapter.

II. RATIONALE & METHODOLOGY

Given the urban school situation described in the Introduction, the growing occurence and importance of innovative community groups is evident. As organized, relatively formal and apparently enduring entities, such school-community groups can be mechanisms of regular local community input into public schools. This study will investigate two school-community groups in the City of Toronto with the intent of describing and understanding firstly; the establishment and developmental stages of these groups, and secondly; the processes by which inputs are exchanged between school and community. Advocates of these and similar groups expect that through the increased community input these groups make into individual schools the school system will be more responsive to the local community, and that something can then be done to reverse the trend of failure and poor quality education in some urban schools. It is not within the scope of the research contained herewithin to provide proof that greater community input is in fact related to higher educational achievement for the children of the communities involved. No attempt will be made to evaluate the impact upon the 'quality' of education pupils receive as a result of these school-community groups.

With the creation of any innovative group there are bound to be numerous difficulties and some effective practices along the way. It is the intention of the author to suggest how in the future both schools and communities might best co-operate during the development of similar school-community groups, and to recommend how the school board should handle its involvement. It must be stated that the present inquiry is not primarily concerned with specific school

programs or issues, but with the procedures and processes by which the school-community groups deal with such concerns.

The two groups chosen to be studied are the Chinese Parents Association of Orde and Ogden Schools and the Frankland Community Council of Franklin Public School. The number of groups was restricted to two so that comparative analysis could be done between the communities. A larger number would have made the use of case study, participant-observation research methods impractical. These two particular groups were selected because both were in the developmental stage yet had been in existence in one form or another for a few years. Each group was quite active. They both also had large ethnic components which allowed for special reference to be made to the difficulties urban schools face when dealing with minority groups. In this regard there were parallels between the two groups in the development of language programs and in their relationships with the Toronto Board of Education. Despite these similarities the two groups were ideally suited for comparison because the Chinese parents of Orde and Ogden schools were predominently working class whereas those of Frankland School were in large measure middle class anglos. The Chinese Parents Association was doubly interesting as it was affiliated with two different schools. For its part the Frankland Community Council had single school affiliation but it also had a semi-official Greek Parents Faction which at times dealt with the school independently of the main body. Thus each group had on its own many complexities to be considered in addition to the differences and similarities each had in comparison with the other.

Although the Chinese Parents Association and the Frankland Community Council may not be representative of home and school or

parent-teacher associations in general, they are examples of the kinds of school-community groups now emerging in many urban centres. It is hoped that through the investigation of these two groups some insight can be formed about the "shape of things to come".

The research methods employed in this study were in part dictated by time limitations and other exogenous considerations, as well as by the types of subjects available. As the proposed research was by necessity to be an individual enterprise backed by meager resources, it was evident that field observation might well be the most appropriate research method. Moreover, the researcher was keenly interested in learning practical knowledge from real living people, or more succinctly; in collecting 'raw data'. As a result, case studies, making use of passive (i.e.: non-interventive) participant-observation techniques were the mode of data collection. Much case study field work is done with a 'social work' attitude wherein the researcher seeks to effect some change beneficial to those he encounters in the field. An objective of this study was to avoid disturbing the natural activities of the 'subjects' in the field, so as not to contaminate the sample. Hence, a concious effort was made to be as unobtrusive as possible. Yet in order to gain entrance into the field, the observer must assume some role within the social context of the field that is not only acceptable to those within the field, but which also has the greatest potential for observation. While the researcher attempted to be friendly and sympathetic towards all the subjects encountered there was also an effort not to become needlessly 'caught up' in the social situation. This type of inquiry was also appropriate in that participant-

observations is said to be well suited to gathering information on processes, patterns, incidents, and natural histories (McCall & Simmons, 1969) especially in newer areas of study (Zelditch, 1962). The participant-observation techniques used include direct observation (eg.: of meetings, etc.), document analysis, informant interviewing, and informal discussions. Throughout the study the observer's role as 'student-researcher' was apparently accepted as a legitimate one by all (no one was openly critical). As time went on this role became slightly elaborated with increased personal contacts (eg.: as a resource person or confidant concerning the wider education scene, political dimensions, ect.). At the conclusion of the field work a questionnaire (adapted from another study, see Appendix A) was administered to selected persons (6 in all) for further information and clarification of earlier findings.

The sampling procedure for both formal interviews and questionnaire subjects was rather open; persons in prominent roles were initial choices, and from that point "snowball" sampling (McCall & Simmons, 1969) took over. Some interview subjects went so far as to help arrange interviews with persons they felt might be fruitful informants. Informants antagonistic to the groups under study were sought out, although these people tended to be hesitant to participate and difficult to contact. A total of 14 interviews were held with equal numbers of individuals from the Board, the schools, and the community. The sessions, 30 minutes to two hours duration, were tape recorded and transcribed immediately afterwards with the help of general notes taken during the interviews. A community leader and principal were interviewed together in the latter's office, and two kindergarten teachers were also interviewed together, but all other

sessions were with individual informants. Basically, all informants were asked to "tell their part of the story" - to describe events and incidents to the best of their recollection. All respondents were promised complete confidentiality and as a result the personal opinions and biases of most informants emerged freely throughout the course of the interviews. The researcher attended approximately ten more or less formal meetings of community persons, school personnel, and Board members. The researcher was also granted access to the files of a few trustees, the minutes of some school-community meetings, and other documents from the Board and the community groups.

The various investigative techniques mentioned above are somewhat disjointed even within the context of the rationale of this study. Although it is desirable and necessary to outline "an adequate and correct description of the research operations - in short, of how to observe the same sort of thing" (Junker, 1960: p.4), there is obvious danger in trying to force a schedule upon any field setting because the researcher has little, if any, control over the sequence of events or the peculiar characteristics of a particular social setting. In any event, the 'research operations' indicated in the preceding paragraphs were carried out until as much relevant information as was feasibly possible was collected.

A note here on "grounded" theory: Theory should be based upon observation, not purely presumptous notions. Narrow case study research, such as the present study, results primarily in 'substantive' theory (i.e.: empirical, derived directly from what is observed) which must be 'grounded' in the data (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). Of course formal, albeit tentative, theory can be generalized out of

substantive grounded theory, but it is quite evident that participant-observation methods are particularly appropriate to case studies and the generation of substantive theory. However, formal general theory is necessarily used to classify and interpret all kinds of data. The following chapter provides a guide to the general theoretical framework governing the selective processes by which relevant empirical data was extracted from the field.

III. THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

For purposes of analysis the school will be considered to be a service organization with students as its clients (Blau & Scott, 1962). Since these clients are minors their parents form a "surrogate clientele" which with the service organization must contend. Moreover, in that the school provides a public service the role of the elected central authority must be considered in any explanation of service organization - client interactions and relationships. As education is compulsory, the school has a more or less guaranteed clientele which results in the "domestication" of the service organization (Corwin in Hansen & Gerstl, 1967). In other words, it may be more concerned with the smooth running and stability of its organization rather than with meeting the needs of its clients.

> "When a sociologist views a school as a relatively complex organization he sees it as
> (i) a social system in which
> (ii) the goals of those in charge may or may not be held by
> (iii) its members and which is
> (iv) bounded from its environment." (Musgrave, 1973: p.168).

In this view the school is a somewhat closed social system with a definite membership and definable boundaries. Although this study follows an 'open systems' approach and recognizes that inputs are continually being made into the school's social system; authority ranks, normative agreements, and role behaviors defined within the school's boundaries are nevertheless vital factors for analysis.

The power within a formal organization such as the school can be seen as a "zero-sum" (Hall, 1972) situation; an increase in

one person's or group of persons' power is at the expense of another's power. Although it is easy to interpret a situation in 'win/lose' terms (i.e.: as a zero-sum relationship), in many instances it is more enlightening and accurate to look at it in non zero-sum terms. One party does not necessarily have to win power from another in order to increase his own; in a non zero-sum relationship there is not a finite amount of power which must be divided among persons or groups. For example, if a community leader and principal support and help each other they both can experience a gain in power. Thus 'win/win' relationships can also exist. The professional teachers have authority in some instructional matters because of their pedagogical expertise, but they are at the bottom of the school's internal authority hierarchy. Decisions are handed down from policy makers and higher administrative offices to superintendants, principals, and finally to the classroom teacher. It is clear though, that with a service organization its entire authority hierarchy is on the 'plus side' of a zero-sum whereas its clients, having no authority within the organization, are on the 'minus side' (Dahrendorf, 1959). The analogy may be made between the power dichotomy of service organization-clientele, and the administration-functionary (i.e.: teachers) dichotomy, to say that the school's administrative personnel are on the 'plus side' and the teachers are on the 'minus side' of the zero-sum of power in decision-making <u>within</u> the school organization. Of course in a public service institution the client has indirect control through the publicly elected policy-making board, and although the teachers as functionairies are civil servants (i.e.: public employees), they have, through their professional associations and teachers' unions, some overall authority in education issues. Notwithstanding the above, it remains that at the individual school level the individual functionary and client has had very little real authority

in school decision-making. However, with more and more conflict developing between administrators, functionaries, and clients on many fronts, efforts are being made to achieve consensus in the hope of avoiding disruptive and distructive 'raw power' plays. Yet often those involved interpret the situation as a zero-sum relation in which they either win or lose. Collective bargaining contracts serve to establish new normative agreements between teachers and administrators, and have produced the beginnings of bilateral teacher - administration decision-making. Increased community (client) demands for more control of education has created the need for further changes in the normative system of schools in order that parents may become involved in the decision-making process. The creation of new procedural norms, informal understandings, and explicitly formalized rules dealing with joint school-community decision-making have also begun to emerge. One must realize, though, that a differentiation of formal and informal structures is unreal for in practice both are simultaneously applied and often inextricably integrated one into the other. By way of illustration - teachers have gained some power not only through the precise legal stipulations of the union contract, but also through the newly generated normative agreement developed between administrators and functionaries out of mutually perceived changes in each other's role expectations. For example, in instances where principals have the authority to make unilateral decisions without prior consultation with teachers, and have acted unilaterally in the past, nowadays teachers expect to participate in the decision-making and principals often do not think of proceeding without the advice and consent of the classroom teachers. Hence, the principal may lose, or relinquish, some decision-making power to the teachers under the terms of the new normative agreement.

The increased parental (client) involvement in urban

schools has resulted out of a time of near crisis and often opposition to the schools by the community - i.e.: the low educational achievement of their children and a perceived lack of opportunity to do something about it has made some communities hostile towards their neighborhood schools. Yet conflict can give rise to regulatory institutions which perform stabilizing and integrating functions; the emotion and distinct temporary objectives of a spontaneous movement can be converted into permanent values and organization. Fox (1971: Chapter 5) postulates that the necessary conditions for the autonomous resolution of conflict are (1) the recognition of the conflict situation, (2) the formation of organized interest groups, and (3) agreement on formal procedural norms and means of conflict resolution. The conflict situation in urban schools between professional educators and mistrustful and dissatisfied local communities is well recognized today. Administrators and teachers are at best wary and often hesitant about sharing decision-making power with local communities and parents. As for the second and third conditions for the resolution of conflict, the surrogate clients (parents) form a "quasi group" composed of an aggregate of incumbents of positions with identical role interests (Dahrendorf, 1959). A 'secondary' group, which represents the quasi group (i.e.: composed of its most active members and leaders), will emerge if there is sufficient concern over the conflict situation, and the necessary organizational capacities and resources are available to the quasi group. Although conflict resolution may not be achieved, Dahrendorf (1959: Chapter 6) feels that conflict "regulation" is possible through a parliamentary or quasi-parliamentary body where interest groups can meet and attempt joint problem solving under mutually binding rules. If a solution can not be worked out to a particular problem, mediation or arbitration by the highest authority (i.e.: the

school board) must be accepted by all parties (eg.: administrators, teachers, and parents).

Thus far much has been made of the division between school and parent (organization and client) yet the notion of a boundary separating the two is problematic. "The social system of the school is a network of relationships spreading throughout the whole community and far beyond it." (Seely et al, 1956: p.252). Parents are at the minimum related to the school within the 'single-stranded' parent-child-school network, and the school trys to tighten up this relationship seeking to enclose clients within their boundaries in the expectation of exercising more social control - i.e.: to better 'process' clients. Regardless of whatever arbitrary boundary lines one may devise there will be different perceptions of the school's boundaries by clients (eg.: parental concern over who decides curriculum, etc.), functionaries (professional claims and areas of pedagogical expertise), and administrators (eg.: the principal's ideals of school, community, and education).

> "In particular ... boundaries do not exist 'out there' in society, but are perceptions in the minds of those filling positions in and interacting with those in the organizations concerned. ... it is clear that those concerned may hold differing perceptions of where any organization's boundaries lie. ... Because service organizations are by definition dealing with personal problems conflicts over defining organizational boundaries would seem probable. This is very likely to be the case in schools because they service a very sensitive area, namely the rearing of future generations and many parties have a vested interest or claim expertise in this process." (Musgrave, 1973: p.170).

Further blurring the school-community boundary is the fact that many

of the actors in the educational arena have over-lapping memberships in different interest groups. Some teachers identify with and consider themselves members of the community while others see themselves, in their role as professional educators, in alliance with the school system's administrative bureaucracy. Despite these considerations the fundamental dichotomy of client-service organization remains real. There are producers and consumers of education, there are those who provide the service and those who are recipients of service; this distinction of roles and division of labour is at least tacitly understood by all participants. Until this boundary is broken down parents and community members will continue to be viewed as 'outsiders' by the educational establishment. Obviously the service organization's boundary personnel occupy an extremely sensitive liason position (Evan in Maurer, 1971) between the organization and an organized client interest group. The distinction between specialized boundary personnel and functionaries is that by definition individual functionaries deal with clients, in the performance of their service duties, in a more or less routinized structured manner in accordance with job specifications and professional norms (as is the case with teachers). For example, the teacher need not directly interact with clients beyond the classroom or through formal parent interview. Any contact with the community as a whole concerning larger school-wide issues at the individual school level is made through the principal (i.e.: as incumbent in its primary boundary personnel position).

The function of service organizations is to process "social objects" (clients), and therefore, when determining formal procedures and policies, it must take cognizance of the "reactive-potential" of its clientele (Lefton in Rosengren & Lefton, 1970). As described previously, much of this client reaction in urban centres

has been negative. In order to guard themselves from criticism and protect their professional autonomy, professionals in service organizations use the authority accruing from their technical expertise to compel client obedience and co-operation. In addition, functionaries make use of organizational structures giving them "institutional powers and prerogatives which at the very least set limits on the freedom of their perspective clients, and which on occasion even coerce their clients into compliance." (Freidson in Rosengren & Lefton, 1970: p.43). In the case of teachers, who are not a 'dominant' profession and have but a "limited reputation" (Bidwell in Rosengren & Lefton, 1970), the school's organizational structure serves in part as protection from direct public intervention. Some kind of protection is justifiably needed in that as functionaries teachers have to apply policy which for the most part is not of their own making. Yet co-operative trust can be created and sustained between professionals and clients through the interchange of inputs across the organization - client boundary. The "solidarity" of a service organization (i.e.: of professional and client) is predicated upon the amount of influence that circulates from client to the organization's personnel and vice-versa (Parsons in Rosengren & Lefton, 1970). Thus professional educators need not isolate themselves and revert to a closed decision-making process, backed by coercive sanctions, as a form of insulation from public criticism, but can create solidarity and trust with clients by opening channels of parental participation and input. In instances of client distrust and disaffection with the motives and/or competence of the service organization's personnel, the organization may decide that "arrangements are necessary to coopt client-member unrest." (Bidwell in Rosengren & Lefton, 1970: p.46). This process of cooptation can be

covertly effective if the service organization can structure clientele participation to ensure that client energies are submerged in assemblies of minimal power and in programs of little real consequence. As more and more schools invite clients to increase their involvement with the school, the 'social economics' of the organization-client relationship becomes a critical factor.

> "The organization can exert more coercive power than the client can and this fact tends to be translated by the organization into the presumption that its values and products are more reasonable, more honorable, more legal, and technologically more plausible than are those of the client. Hence, the organization's economy is larger and tends towards monopoly, while the [client] member is disadvantaged unless there is a collectivized member group ... by which client values can be presented in a less unstable form." (Rosengren in Rosengren & Lefton, 1970: p.205).

It would appear then that an organized client group would be better equipped to make genuinely meaningful inputs into the school than would individual clients or uncoordinated client interest groups.

Client groups organized around school issues can have their relationship to the focal organization (the school) classified as to their degree of congruence to two ideal types (Litwak & Meyer, 1974). The first is the 'auxiliary voluntary association', which is attached to and sponsored by the focal organization and has a quasi legal status in the service organization. The 'autonomous neighborhood voluntary association' is the second type and, as its name suggest, is part of the focal organization's external environment. The autonomous neighborhood voluntary association makes use of civil and political action as tactics to effect change in the focal organization and

does not rely on the resources of the focal organization as does the auxiliary voluntary association. The disadvantage of the autonomous type community group are that, without formal ties to the focal organization, it lacks the continuity of communication and exchange of inputs that such a liason provides, and it is disconnected from the expert knowledge, sources of information, practical experience, and other of the focal organization's resources. The advantages to the community in an autonomous rather than auxiliary association are that its membership, activities, and methods are not limited by the focal organization, and that new ideas and goals unacceptable or alien to the professional bureaucracy of the focal organization can be more readily entertained. In particular, considering local community groups concerned with urban schools; "there is much less possibility of school personnel taking control of external autonomous voluntary associations." (Litwak & Meyer, 1974: p.231). Whatever the advantages or disadvantages of either ideal type there is an "optimal social distance" between school and client group at which both parties will be able to function most comfortably (Litwak & Meyer, 1974). The frequency, intensity, and scope of interpersonal contact between community members and school personnel are some indicators of 'social distance'. The social distance, usually greater for autonomous neighborhood associations than for auxiliary voluntary associations, which is found to be 'optimal' varies from school to school and community to community depending upon particular circumstances.

At this juncture a brief summary of the theoretical framework reviewed above is apropos. Initially, the school is seen as a domesticated service organization bounded from its clientele. The relationships and patterns of interaction between functionaries and administrative personnel <u>within</u> the school, and especially between

school personnel and the local community across the service organization - clientele boundary are interpreted in terms of a zero-sum situation with respect to power and control where appropriate (eg: where the participants identify the situation as such). The creation of trust and solidarity between the school and community, and the resolution or regulation of conflict between the two are viewed with reference to informal normative agreements and exchanges of inputs from all parties, as well as formal interactions between boundary personnel, functionaries, and organized client groups. A further, more itemized clarification of this framework is contained in Chapter VI. The following two chapters will describe the growth and progress of community groups at Frankland Public School, and at Orde Street and Ogden Public Schools. Subsequent chapters will deal with the theoretical interpretation of this data.

IV. FRANKLAND COMMUNITY COUNCIL

The growth and development of the Frankland Community Council (F.C.C.) will be presented here in an ethnographic manner playing close heed to the chronological order of events. Frankland Public School (K to 6) is situated in the east end of the City of Toronto on Logan Avenue at Danforth. Although not wealthy the residents of the local community in the school's catchment area are by no means poor. There is a mix of 'new' and 'old' Canadians, middle and working class parents, with a large Greek working class segment. There has been an influx of middle class and semi-professional anglo-Canadians and, writing on a related subject, an active F.C.C. parent described the area thusly:

> "The school population ... has undergone considerable changes in recent years, with very few homogeneous school communities remaining. The 'town housing' trend has resulted in a shift from working class to middle class in many areas; speculators have purchased, at low prices, older houses formerly occupied by working class tenants, and, after renovations, these 'town houses' have been sold to more affluent middle class couples."*

Greek speaking children make up about 50% of the school's approximately 800 pupils. It must be noted that there are other ethnic groups with appreciable representation in the school population although none are numerically substantial

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*In respect of informant confidentiality quotations will remain anonymous.

enough to have a significant impact upon the school.

Prior to 1971 the Frankland Home and School Association was a traditional parent-teacher organization typically dealing with fund-raising, parent education, etc. The principal played a key role in directing Home and School programs and acted as the "go-between" for teachers and parents. Minutes from the Home and School indicate that as a group it was equated with a parents' group, and seen as separate and distinct from the school's staff. In fact, in the fall of 1969 the parents expressed the wish for more representation of the staff at the Home and School meetings, but the principal found it difficult to get teachers to attend. Parents and teachers alike characterize the principal at the time as a "quiet, retiring, well liked old gentleman who allowed things to develop; not interfering with nor pushing for the formation of the F.C.C." The parents involved in the Home and School were becoming increasingly active as the 70's came upon them. In 1969-70 they started inquiries into the formation of an 'after four' program and hoped to get a suporting grant. Later they called a "gym" meeting showing their concern for the lack of space and facilities at the school. But it appears that the parents of the 'traditional' Home and School parents did not have the necessary skills or knowledge (or the will?) to bring about sufficient change, and frustration and dissatisfaction grew. Along with the perennial problem of lack of funds came a feeling by parents that the fees paid to central Home and School Federation was spending "money for nothing."

In the 1970-71 school year a new kindergarten teacher at the school asked parents for volunteers to come and work with her in the classroom. She explained that she had made use of volunteers at her previous school and now required classroom volunteers on a regular basis for her type of program. Several parents with children in her class were willing and able to help out and the principal readily acquiesced to her demands for parent-aides. There was some history of a limited amount of volunteer work done by parents. One parent stated that she had "been volunteering at the school for ten years." A public meeting chaired by the Home and School executive was held at the school in the following September of 1971 to announce a "new role for parents" - substantially this was the participation of parent volunteers in classrooms, on field trips, and as "liaison parents" helping teachers coordinate volunteers. At this time the 'old' Home and School executive stepped down and a new guard emerged, enthusiastic and somewhat less than happy with the traditional Home and School format. For the next four months there was a "state of limbo" with no executive officers in the Home and School. The only real parent-teacher body was the unofficial ad hoc "Liaison Parents Board" which as best it could assisted in the organization of the expanding volunteer program (by mid-year up to 9 teachers were using or wanted volunteers). Although the volunteer parents program was enjoying a fairly strong start it was not without some growing pains. An excerpt of the minutes of a May 31, 1971, Home and School meeting reads:

> "The obvious resistance of some teachers to the proposed new council was commented on and accepted. Teachers are professionals and some do not appreciate having parents in the classroom in a liason role. They prefer to work with individual parents."

Also, in retrospect one parent described the volunteer program as "a means of placating parents" in which the parents were merely given "the dirtier jobs, cleaning up." Despite such reservations the collectivity of volunteer parents and participating teachers officially assumed the name of the Frankland Community Council in January 1972 and filled the positions of chairman, secretary, and treasurer at a public meeting. Much of the impetus behind the formalization of the F.C.C. was that a name for the group was required on a L.I.P. grant application which they were contemplating. Even in February 1972 the group was still receiving publications from the Federation of Home and School Associations and had bought six memberships that year to maintain its official Home and School status. It was not until the next year that this membership was dropped. In any event a founding F.C.C. teacher said that the change of name from Home and School to 'community council' came only after the "evolution of the change of philosophy". The teachers had come already to appreciate the parents' help and the parents for their part became more "informed, involved, and conscious of school problems" (as one teacher phrased it), and there developed "much more cooperation and closer ties between staff and parents". The F.C.C. membership was open to all those in

the "Frankland community" and normally early meetings (all held in the school) were split 50/50 along teacher/parent lines. There was and remains a committed core of teachers (about a half dozen) actively involved in all stages of the F.C.C.'s development. Yet there is always the problem of numbers; how to involve more parents and teachers. The few teachers initially involved with the volunteer program "had to do a lot of selling to other teachers." A meeting was held in the staff room at which a parent explained the program; that it was not to be forced on anyone and should not be seen as a threatening situation. Still today there are about "2 or 3 teachers who ignore the F.C.C. and the volunteer program." As the 1972-73 school year began the role of 'liason parent' virtually ceased as teachers with a well established volunteer team did not require the services of a co-ordinator, while "other teachers preferred to co-ordinate their own volunteers." Moreover, the embryonic after four program, although under the general direction of the F.C.C. operated quite independently and carried a definite momentum of its own. Teachers with volunteers felt that they "in a way recruited parents" for the F.C.C. by pointing out problems to parents and directing them to the group. In fact, concerning the formation of the F.C.C., the volunteer parents program "was the impetus at the beginning, it educated some of the parents about the school." But at least one parent member of the F.C.C. executive complained that "despite the participation of parents in the school and the formation of the F.C.C., parents were still

not actively involved in any important decision-making in the school." This was, she continued, in some part because those parents who had been involved in the school for several years with the old Home and School "were resigned to the fact that decision-making would never be extended to parents." In effect the F.C.C. at this time did little more than give its 'support' to the volunteer and after four programs.

As mentioned before, expansion of the physical plant and especially the problem of a gymnasium had long been issues of community and school concern. In 1972, the Board of Education for the City of Toronto, recognizing this need, placed Frankland on its priority list for a new building. The F.C.C. took hold of this issue and in December 1972 established a 'building committee'. Interest was great, and through well attended public meetings and a "door-to-door survey of over 300 houses" some of the community's expectations for the new building were found. Although initially there was some difficulty (lack of knowledge, etc.) in eliciting community suggestions "about the school design in relation to the regular academic program," a program sub-committee was formed dealing with shared use funding (i.e.: with the City Parks and Recreational Department) and planning of community space within the new building. The importance of the new building vis-à-vis the F.C.C.'s development must be appreciated in the light of the circumstances of that time in which the F.C.C. did not have any other 'interest generating' issues that would revitalize its slumping image (i.e.: as the volunteer liaison parents

role faded). The F.C.C. was lapsing back into an "old fashion" role, occupying itself with "traditional concerns" such as "funding efforts, parents' nights, and running the after four program," and remaining basicly "ignorant of issues of a broader impact." In addition, the new building issue brought in new interested families and also began to involve more men (who could not be volunteers because of their day time working hours) than ever before. The chairman of the building committee, for example, is the husband of a F.C.C. executive. A teacher remarked that "the building committee is run and dominated by parents" but that there was considerable teacher input as well. New purpose and vigor were instilled into the F.C.C. just when it needed it. Throughout 1974 the "regular sittings of the building committee kept the F.C.C. going with a real issue" which generated substantial interest and parental participation. Also, it was now dealing with wider school issues rather than only classroom concerns (eg.: the building issue vs. the after four and volunteer parents programs).

As the schools reopened after the summer break in 1973 the Toronto Board of Education adopted a resolution allowing an experimental Greek-Canadian Bilingual/Bicultural Immersion Program at Frankland and nearby Jackman Public School. In the months previous to this decision a Greek speaking community worker (on an L.I.P. grant) from the Greater Riverdale Organization (G.R.O.), a local area community service agency, had helped a group of parents form the Greek Parents Association of Frankland and Jackman Schools. The

G.R.O. worker was a real driving force behind the group. School staff, Board people, and anglo F.C.C. members all felt that this individual held the Greek parents "under his thumb" and was "on a power trip." In any event, the group forcefully strove to get report cards in Greek, more translation services, and, most importantly, Greek language classes during the regular school day. An area Greek language social worker, with the Toronto Board's Social Work Service to New Canadians, active in counselling Frankland's Greek parents said that "the principals were involved right from the beginning; in fact, when the Greek parents from the two schools first verbalized their concerns they went to the principal." In response the principals did all they could - directed the Greeks to the Board. In the interim the Greek parents held meetings at both schools and, after some informal contact, they asked for and received F.C.C. support for their proposed language program. Although some objections were raised about the language program the matter was not viewed at the time as "a vocal issue in the F.C.C." Indeed, there had been "very little" Greek participation in the old Home and School and the formation of the F.C.C. Originally there was a liaison parent of the Greek language and some small attempts were made to translate a few F.C.C. materials and encourage Greek attendance at meetings. An anglo parent, then on the F.C.C. executive, stated that the "Greeks went along on their own" pursuing their language program. At the explanatory stage the Greek parents' group met as a whole without distinction between schools. This joint Frankland-Jackman group was the one which officially presented the language program pro-

posal to the Board. The New Canadian Committee of the Board (also dealing with the Chinese language petition) convinced the Greek parents to pursue a 'cultural program' because a strict language program was contrary to provincial education policy. Although there were meetings at both schools with principals, trustees, and the Greek parents there was no consultation with the staff at Frankland - "We were informed that we were having it, that's all." The Greek parents themselves had little to do with the planning of the program's curriculum which was primarily left to a Board appointed Technical Planning Work Group. The F.C.C. complained that "proposed methods of community involvement in the planning of the cultural program are merely one-way communications directed at the community." In fact there was a great amount of misunderstanding on the part of many Greek parents who thought they were still going to get a 'language' program. While some Greek parents felt the cultural program would develop into a true language program others dropped out completely when they realized that it was 'just' a cultural program.

The Board announced budget cuts in October of 1973 which threatened to reduce the number of paid 'educational lay assistants' used in the kindergartens. The kindergarten department decided to fight the threatened cuts by bringing the force of parents and teachers to bear upon the Board. Kindergarten staff members solicited direct individual parent support over the telephone. Parents and teachers brought their protest to a Board meeting and two letters were circulated to the kindergarten departments in all inner-city

schools. Although the F.C.C. was not contacted beforehand the group found itself listed as a supporter of the kindergarten staff statement contained in the letters issued. This caused some staff-parent friction. One F.C.C. parent felt that "the position paper managed to say how great the assistants were and how unsatisfactory the volunteers were." The kindergarten staff and those parents involved claimed that there was not enough time to approach and officially receive F.C.C. consent. "We had less than a week to prepare a defence" and we "saw no objection to using the F.C.C. and felt it would lend weight to the statement." Afterwards an emergency meeting of the F.C.C. was held and it belatedly endorsed the action taken. Parents who had helped the kindergarten staff argued that "the F.C.C. supported the educational assistants anyway" and that as the F.C.C. was "completely open to all, lacked real organization, and had no real mandate from the community" they felt their course of action was justified given the time element. A F.C.C. executive member who did not believe that the time element was a major factor agreed somewhat, saying that "there was no precedent for the proper procedure" and that "the F.C.C. had not yet proved itself fully." A member of the kindergarten staff (and an active F.C.C. person) said that "clearance through the F.C.C. executive is still not really followed through all the time even now" and that in any case the "executive had said it did not want everything put through it all the time." Those upset that official F.C.C. support was sought only as "an afterthought" stated:

> "The F.C.C.'s objection to this procedure was that only one side of the issue had been explained to parents and their presence at the appropriate Board meeting was all that was required of them - there was no opportunity for parents to make up their own minds after a public presentation of the position."

On this account an equal amount of blame was placed on the Board itself as well for not contacting parents and staff before the original decision to cut the lay assistants. Parents pointed out the need for closer liason with the Board of Education "to allow time for issues to be debated at a public meeting and the F.C.C. position presented to the Board." The F.C.C. was dealing with the educational organization on an administratively different level - i.e.: the elected central policy-making body as opposed to the local school itself.

The immediate past principal of Frankland Public School was scheduled to retire at the end of the 1974-75 year. In anticipation of this event the F.C.C. held a series of meetings during February 1975 to discuss its desire for direct local community participation in the selection of the new principal. The procedure for selecting junior school principals (under review that year) was to form a selection committee consisting of central administrative representatives, a Toronto Teachers' Federation (T.T.F.) representative, and trustees among others. Local parents and teachers could submit a set of criteria upon which the committee could base its selection. The F.C.C.

wanted more, and made the following resolutions which the Board later adopted:

1) "We ask that we be allowed to put two members, selcted by the F.C.C., on the final selection committee - one of whom will be a teacher from Frankland School and one of whom will be a parent from Frankland School."

2) "That the F.C.C. will undertake to formulate criteria which will be forwarded to the Board, to act as guidelines in the screening process of all candidates who may apply and as guidelines for those F.C.C. representatives on the final selection committee."

Further, the F.C.C. felt that "the problem of personal obligations felt by the principal to the parent and teacher who participated in the selection procedure should not arise, since emphasis in the F.C.C. proposal is upon F.C.C. representatives, not individuals, participating in the selection." Besides the support of a general meeting of the F.C.C., a separate meeting of the entire teaching staff agreed to support the F.C.C. position. Indeed, some teachers, strongly in favour of staff representation on the principal selection committee, felt that they "needed parental support on the principal selection issue to get the Board to listen." One parent, an ex-teacher at another school and then a volunteer at Frankland in her child's class, claimed that she had originated the issue of principal selection because of her involvement in a similar situation at her previous school. The principal selection criteria were generated

out of a questionnaire "distributed to all parents and teachers," a general meeting of the F.C.C. (a core of about 30 teachers and parents attended), and a meeting of Greek parents (approximately 20). The Greeks met separately basically because of the linguistic difficulty but they further distinguished themselves as a group by emphasizing different concerns than the anglos (they wanted the new principal to be 'strict'), and soon came to be referred to as the "Greek Faction" or "Greek Parents Section" of the F.C.C. A present F.C.C. executive and parent said that the principal selection provoked more interest in the F.C.C. and also increased both parent and staff input into the group. An involved teacher also stated that principal selection was one of those issues that "moved Frankland into a real community school" and "made us [parents and teachers] become united."

The Frankland Community Council held a general meeting to elect new officers in September of 1975. Approximately 30 persons attended; evenly divided amongst parents and teachers. The Greek social worker-interpreter employed by the Board and working closely with the Greek parents on the cultural program at the school was in attendance with two Greek parents. The meeting was an open one with questions coming freely from the floor. The Greek parents, through the interpretor made it known that they wished to have copies of the minutes of all meetings so as to better report the proceedings to their separate meetings (at this time the Greeks met alone as a group because

translation was in their opinion too time consuming and often they did not fully understand what was being discussed). The meeting was reminded by the chairperson that there was an opening on the parent-teacher advisory committee of the Greek cultural program for a F.C.C. observer. She urged the Greek parents to give more feedback to the F.C.C. as a whole and, if possible, recruit Greek parents with sufficient English fluency to sit on F.C.C. committees. The social worker-interpretor replied that it was very difficult to find such a parent and expressed doubt that any could be located. As the circumstances were, the chairman of the Building Committee issued a brief which had been composed after consultation with the Greek parents' group. Among other items of business was the statement of intention to form a much needed Publicity Committee to attract more persons to the F.C.C. meetings.

The most important and primary reason for calling the meeting was the election of a new executive. Vital changes were being made in two respects; the chairperson of two years and long time leading F.C.C. advocate was stepping down, and the positions of chairperson and vice-chairperson were being replaced by those of "community co-ordinator" and "school co-ordinator." This was done to recognize, structurally, that the principal had been acting in fact as the school co-ordinator for some time. The principal, accepting the change, stated that the Frankland Staff Cabinet (made up of teacher representatives from each grade level) would choose a school co-ordinator who

would present a staff opinion. He emphasized though, that "parents and teachers should not be divided into two different camps" but should be equal partners within the F.C.C. One parent, in a private aside, remarked "What about in the crunch," would there be a staff/parents split? The selection of persons to fill the new executive positions and chairmanships of committees went smoothly with those willing to volunteer being accepted amicably by both parents and school personnel. The offices are as follows; 'community co-ordinator' (a parent); 'school co-ordinator' (the principal or a substitute from the Staff Cabinet); 'treasurer' (a teacher); 'Publicity Committee co-chairpersons' (a parent and a teacher); a 'liaison person for Greek F.C.C. Chapter' (the social worker-interpretor); people to run the after four program (various parents and teachers); a F.C.C. representative on the Greek Cultural Program Committee (not chosen at that time); a 'recording secretary' (a teacher); persons to concern themselves with the Area Four Curriculum Council (parents were needed); a F.C.C. 'library representative' (not chosen); the Building Committee chairperson (a parent); and a 'Board liaison person' (a teacher). One can judge from the list above that the F.C.C. offices were filled nearly equally by parents and teachers. Several weeks later a teacher commented that "now we [the F.C.C.] have far more executive positions than we had originally" but that still there was not the formality of the old Home and School, nor was there an "all important" parent executive that might make teachers "uneasy" and less likely to participate.

On the first Thursday of October 1975, the F.C.C. Building Committee met to discuss some aspects of the allocation of space and time in the new school building. Problems of scheduling, shared school-community use of certain spaces, and difficult time allocations for the pool and gymnasium were typical topics. The principal, two teachers, and two parents (one of them the chairperson) were present. The principal remained fairly quiet throughout and in no way lead or attempted to lead the discussion. One of the teachers did speak from the "staff point of view" several times, but apparently without reference to or the overt support of the principal. Parents stated what they thought were community needs/wants and the staff people contributed ideas on how things might actually function based on their "experience", while the principal expressed a few general organizational and administrative concerns. The very knowledgable chairperson served to relay the architects' ideas and problems and also to keep the others up to date on the negotiations with the City of Toronto Department of Parks and Recreation on shared use and funding arrangements. This brief session indicated that the Building Committee was a well organized, hard working one in which much community initiative was displayed along with substantial school input and support.

Directly afterwards a meeting was held to discuss the possibility and desirability of establishing day care services in the school. Six parents, 3 teachers (one was the chairperson), the principal, and a representative from

the Toronto Board of Education, who spoke on funding and day care experiences in city schools attended. The principal said that the F.C.C. should move with caution because he feared that day care might attract "out of district children" - i.e.: if municipal funding were arranged could they be disallowed, and if entire families moved into the school area to take advantage of in-school day care would the already crowded conditions (even in the still to be built new school) be worsened? The principal in this way raised many doubts and objections but added that he didn't "like being caught in the middle of this" having to be the one to point out the drawbacks and negative aspects surrounding the day care issue. Nevertheless, the principal said that "it would have my support and I think that of the staff" although a teacher related that "some staff are against it; its no use going after it, planning, until those involved are convinced." The exchange continued:

parent #1 - "But F.C.C. is the staff also!"

parent #2 - "There may be a vote at F.C.C. but if the staff and principal weren't happy with it, how could it go on?"

principal - "It would have a hard time getting going..."

parent #3 - "But we'd have a full F.C.C. meeting, with all staff and parents who would come."

Soon thereafter it was agreed that more investigation and study of the matter would have to be undertaken before any concrete proposals could be made (specific plans towards this end were left for a later date). No Greek

representatives were at the meeting but a parent remarked, concerning the possible demand for day care from the Greek families, that "the school has to provide for them too." Despite the fact that little was actually decided upon the meeting was important in that it was an instance where both parents and teachers in the F.C.C. were together, talking with each other, right from the beginning of an issue. Also the above exchange of dialogue is a good example of how the roles of staff, parents, and the F.C.C. itself are continually evolving in the daily life of the Frankland community.

The largest ever open meeting of the F.C.C. (attendance was estimated as being in excess of 200) was held in mid November 1975 in the Boys' Playroom of Frankland School. Large numbers of parents (both anglo and Greek) and staff members came to the meeting to listen to and question the F.C.C. executive and invited guests (trustees, Board representatives, local M.P.P., and the architects of the new school) on the following issues; (i) overcrowding in the present school building, (ii) the size of the new school, (iii) Frankland's school boundaries, and (iv) a presentation of a synopsis on the building program. The principal spoke explaining that the overcrowding in the school was due to the out-of-district children which the previous principal had accepted into Frankland. The Board representative presented a report which instructed the principal that "effective November 3, 1975, no further out-of-district pupils are to be enrolled at Frankland P.S."

with the exception of the younger children of families with children at Frankland from areas affected by boundary alterations four months beforehand. Already Frankland had 132 out-of-district pupils: the Board assumed that this excessive number of out-of-district pupils was the result of the attractiveness of the school (both program and staff) and, in the case of 21 pupils, the availability of private day care in the district. The solution of simply excluding all these pupils for the next year was rejected by the Board due to its recognition of the relationships built up between these families and the school, and also because of the severe disruption it would be for some pupils. The Board, in its report, recommended another slight boundary change and relented to allow all but 15 out-of-district pupils "to work their way through the school as long as they live where they are now."

Throughout the meeting repeated references were made to the openness of all executive meetings, committees, etc., and an invitation was extended to all those interested in day care to leave their name at the office to indicate the amount of interest and to eventually form a committee on day care. Surprisingly some of the Building Committee's written material was only available in Greek as the English copy was not ready in time for distribution. During a long question period, in which the invited guests were closely grilled, the Greek parents were more hesitant to speak than the anglos although several did ask questions as the meeting wore on. That the Greeks could participate to even

this extent was a result of the use of special instantaneous translation (English/Greek and Greek/English) equipment provided by the Board on a test basis for that night. In this sense the meeting was a milestone one for the F.C.C. The significant Greek representation and participation at the meeting was due not only to the translation service but also wide advertisement on the local Greek radio station. The experiment might have been more successful if a professional instantaneous translator had been hired for the night. As it was the Greek social worker-interpretor did yeoman service over a long (3 hr.+) meeting. An observer from the Board suggested privately that a professional translator would be used "next time." Nevertheless, the increased dialogue between anglo and Greek parents which the translation service provided enthused and bouyed the spirits of both the anglo and Greek F.C.C. membership.

At this point some general comments by, and observations of, some of Frankland Public School's 'community' concerning the F.C.C.'s role and development will be outlined. The F.C.C. has been in operation as a "parent/teacher/community group" for nearly five years working towards achieving these two major aims:

> "- to promote the educational growth of the community centered at Frankland P.S.
>
> - to provide effective communication between home, school and community"

A second parent executive writes that the "basic motives [behind the F.C.C.] are to facilitate the development of better quality education in the school." Parents and

teachers active in the F.C.C. also want to play a role in the planning and determination of school policies and programs. It is an innocuous enough statement to express concern for "educational growth" and "better quality education." Yet regardless of what definition these 'slogans' are given, the F.C.C., in league with the current principal, believe that they can be accomplished to some degree through parent/teacher/community cooperation and participation within the school.

Initially some parents asked; "Why should we get involved? Let the teachers do their job." Even when parents accepted the notion of community participation in the school many could not afford to spend the "enormous amount of time and energy" that the F.C.C. requires. Still now, a much "broader base of participation" and "better communications" are needed with parents. On the other hand, some teachers are against 'community involvement' per se, while others are skeptical; wondering "does the F.C.C. really represent the community, or is it just a smaller interest group?" The majority of Frankland's population is ethnic working class but the F.C.C. is dominated by middle class anglo parents - how representative are they? The volunteer parents who deal with "spur of the moment work in the class" along side the teacher have generated "closer ties" between school and community. Although the teachers and principal come into informal contact with parents (F.C.C. and others) as much as once or twice a week when children are picked up after school, the small numbers of

parents and teachers participating actively in the F.C.C. is problematic. Many staff misconceptions about the F.C.C. had to be removed; some felt that it was a 'closed' group of parents and teachers or that the Building Committee was a completely separate group. The few teachers active in the F.C.C. executive generally report the proceedings of meetings to others at recess or lunch time but "important issues will bring out the staff to the F.C.C." The same is true for the community - parents come when something important draws them to F.C.C. meetings. The community representatives are "gradually changing as would be expected, but they are very stable nonetheless." "There is a hard core group with people floating in and out when there was an issue they were interested in." The new building and day care are two issues which are attracting new people to the F.C.C. and expanding its scope. The group has also politicized itself through its meetings with area trustees and the Board. Trustees were invited to the school where the F.C.C. "forced them to face issues" and demanded that various measures be taken. Board support on principal selection, the Greek cultural program, the planning of the new building, etc., have served to legitimize the F.C.C. as a "known and accepted" community group. The Board initiated Curriculum Council heightened F.C.C. awareness of curriculum issues - the principal, staff, and parents see curriculum as an immediate and growing concern of the F.C.C. The executive hopes to start a curriculum committee shortly although some parents feel that curriculum

may be a "sacred cow" not easily discussed by parents and teachers, and that the "Curriculum Council is a way of informing the public, not thrashing out programs together." The principal emphasizes that all F.C.C. curriculum considerations are restricted by Provincial Ministry of Education policies and the guidelines issued by the Toronto Board of Education. A potentially volatile and divisive issue now emerging concerns the question of municipal - school 'shared use' of the library in the new school and the resistance of the librarian. Whatever the issue it is agreed that they are not initiated predominantly by either parents, teachers, or principal, but appear to arise "spontaneously" out of general influences. For example; the staff was concerned with principal selection because they were dissatisfied with having an "outside T.T.F." representative rather than one of their "own" on the committee, while a parent generated community interest through her experience in principal selection at another school. Regardless of who was first concerned with or affected by an issue, the intimate contact of parent-volunteers and teachers in the classroom, and the close cooperation of school and community in the F.C.C. usually provides widespread awareness quite rapidly. Teachers, parents, or the principal can bring their concerns to the F.C.C. executive, the appropriate committee or even bring it up in the 'general business' section of an open meeting (eg.: the instantaneous translation service was first brought up in this manner), but, according to the

principal "the average teacher brings issues to myself or the Cabinet" although teachers firmly committed to the F.C.C. will bring issues to its executive. The principal and some staff are on the F.C.C. executive and hence issues and information circulate quickly between school and community.

The principal stresses that "we (the community and school) have to make decisions as a group" and that when parents do actively participate in the making of a decision they must be accountable along with him, and not throw it back on the school or himself if things do not work out. He says further that when the Staff Cabinet makes a decision it must also share the accountability, just as the parents in the F.C.C. must when it makes a decision. Some community persons and school staff replied in the questionnaire (Appendix A) that the principal might feel threatened in his position due to "conflicting loyalties between staff and parents," and because "since the F.C.C. participated in selecting the principal, it is felt that he is accountable to it" at least to some degree. The principal denies any insecurity or sense of being threatened but admits that there is "not much power in the principal's role" at Frankland and that the possibility of pressures arising out of the expectations of "teachers, community and senior administration" does exist. It is generally assumed that the principal does not hold any "veto" power on F.C.C. decisions but people really do not know for certain what powers he does have, or thinks he has. On important issues the principal gets a general "staff

position" from the Staff Cabinet (the teachers on it are grade representatives and change every 3-4 months) and presents it to the F.C.C. during the course of discussion. Although teachers can come to the F.C.C. meetings to voice dissident views this has not occurred to date. Underlining that the F.C.C. is composed of community, teachers, and administration, the principal states that the "F.C.C. is very aware of the dangers involved in community/school factions voting on issues" and "strives for consensus." Despite this awareness, a community person lamented that the F.C.C. used to reach consensus after open dialogue between staff and community, but is now "coming into a new era it seems; being presented with the staff position - an actual piece of paper!" This comment was made in relation to the library shared use issue.

A few teachers, active from the first days of the F.C.C., feel that the group has had an "easy, steady development" experiencing relatively few "growing pains," with the "big breakthrough" (i.e.: from the traditional Home and School) being that teachers could be on the F.C.C. executive along side parents. The principal echoes this joint membership theme saying that it is wrong "to assume a community/staff/administration division. It is my understanding that this is exactly the type of division that our community council is trying to avoid." Yet, regardless of this joint membership the school's professionals are still in a different role than are the F.C.C. parent-members. As one teacher cautioned;

"The F.C.C. is here to stay, its not going away, so you better get used to it. It can be a really valuable ally or a dangerous enemy. The communication lines should be kept open."

Most participants, whether staff, principal, or parents, regard the exchange of knowledge and increased understanding between community and school as one of the F.C.C.'s greatest accomplishments. Notwithstanding its benefits, the Frankland Community Council does have some definite drawbacks. The principal feels decisions are often arrived at too slowly: "issues tend to be talked to death." School personnel also point out that much of the large amount of time they devote to the F.C.C. is often time lost on purely educational efforts directly beneficial to pupils. The present community co-ordinator recognizes this also and hopes that in the future the F.C.C. will become less issue oriented and will, in addition to acting as an "administrative unit" for the community facilities in the new school, focus upon more in-school educational interests such as teaching methods and content of school programs. In spite of the difficulties the F.C.C. has come to face, or has yet to fact, to those involved it is at minimum a structural recognition of the "input role played by parents" and possibly the "beginning of community control."

Finally, a brief review of the Greek community's role at Frankland would help elucidate many aspects of its varied relationships with the principal, staff, and the F.C.C. Initially the Greater Riverdale Organization helped

assemble the Greek Parents Association of Frankland and Jackman Schools with the goal of convincing the Toronto Board of Education to establish a Greek language program in each school during regular hours. Operating at the start as a united Frankland-Jackman group, and very much under the control of the G.R.O., the Greeks approached the F.C.C. for formal support for their language program proposal. After a relatively short albeit sometimes "heated discussion" the F.C.C. decided to back the Greek Parents Association's request for a language program. A few parents and teachers felt the time could be better utilized and the Greek children better served if more English language skills were taught instead. However, the "backlash" was more vociferous and sustained at Jackman where an "anglo parents counter-group" was formed to oppose the language program. This group, since disbanded, made the F.C.C. support all the more appreciated and established the F.C.C. as a 'friend' to the Greek parents. The Greek Frankland parents with children in what actually is a cultural program now meet separately from the Jackman parents although the combined Frankland-Jackman group still exists officially. The Greek parents group at Frankland is only a small portion of its entire Greek community because the cultural program operates only in grades four through six, and because a number of parents refused to register their children in the program when they realized it was not the language program they had expected. The continuance of the Greek parents group at Frankland is predicated upon the continuance of the Greek

cultural program in that this "small group is concerned exclusively with the Greek cultural program." There are but a few Greek parents who are also interested and involved (as much as the language barrier allows) with the F.C.C. beyond the issue of the cultural program. Nevertheless the Greek parents with children in the program regard themselves as holding "dual membership in both the F.C.C. and at the same time in the Greek Parents Association of Frankland and Jackman Schools." Indeed, it is this group of parents which is commonly referred to as the Greek Section or Faction of the F.C.C. The advent of instantaneous translation and increased Greek language publicity of the F.C.C. meetings may lead to greater and more direct Greek participation in the F.C.C. - the November 13, 1975 F.C.C. meeting, the first featuring instantaneous translation, attracted a substantial number of Greek parents. Up to now the Greek parents have been undecided and vacillating as to whether they should meet separately or with the entire F.C.C. (i.e.: with the Greek social worker as interpretor), but in any event the Greek parents will still continue to meet separately to discuss the cultural program.

According to anglo F.C.C. parents the virtual non-existance of Greek participation in the formation and early stages of the F.C.C.'s growth was due to purely linguistic differences, not ideological incongruencies. The school's staff though sees the Greek community's socio-economic, cultural, and philosophical differences as being equally important as the linguistic difference. Moreover,

Greeks typically express concerns more directly related to their children's schooling than do the anglo parents; homework and discipline are salient Greek issues which receive only passing comment from the anglos. With other more general issues, "the Greek component of the F.C.C. follows the anglo F.C.C. lead." If Greek parents have an issue they wish to bring up they communicate it directly to the principal, usually through the Greek social worker-interpretor, bypassing the F.C.C. unless the social worker-interpretor sees fit to bring it to the F.C.C. for some reason. The two instructors who teach the Greek-Canadian Bilingual/Bicultural Immersion Program are graduates of the University of Athens and are paid by the "Greek Community of Metropolitan Toronto." "As far as the formal organization of the school, they are volunteers and maintain no organic relationship" with the regular staff although they rely upon the vice-principal for practical advice, etc. Even informal relations between the Greek teachers and the regular staff are very restricted because they are in the school only two hours daily. The Greek parents are not a very stable group; its membership turning over rapidly. The Greek social worker-interpretor admits that "very few of the original group [organized by the G.R.O.] still remains." There are no visible Greek parent leaders and the principal wonders; "Who really speaks for the Greeks?" Yet, just as linguistic barriers may be taken down as a result of instantaneous translation, cultural barriers to Greek participation in school affairs appear to have been largely

overcome because their own success with the cultural program and the various F.C.C. successes have lead the Greek parents to embrace community groups as viable, legitimate entities in the Toronto school system.

In relating the observations above in a general way to the theoretical framework explained in Chapter III certain lines of analysis are suggested. Initially the clientele of Frankland school was immersed in an auxiliary voluntary association and very much under the domination of the professionals. The F.C.C. grew out of the traditional Home and School when parent leaders emgerged who were not content with the limitations of the latter organization. A group of functionaries, originally one kindergarten teacher, sought out the involvement and co-operation of client members in the form of volunteer parents. Due in part to the attitude of the principal at the time (and later, the subsequent principal) this liaison and overall exchange of inputs between staff members and clients expanded and intensified. As the F.C.C. became interested in more and varied issues (eg.: the new building, a new principal, educational assistants, etc...) the need for clearer and more formalized means of joint problem solving became evident. One can envision how the evolution of the traditional Home and School into the quasi-parliamentary body of the F.C.C. may be profitably analyzed with reference to the role of the boundary personnel (the principal); a zero-sum power arrangement (some professionals' fear of the F.C.C.); the exchange of information and the development of trust across the client-service organization boundary (between teachers and parents); and the emergent patterns of problem solving (i.e.: conflict regulation). In later chapters the interpretation and analysis of the data collected will more closely link the theoretical framework to these observations of the Frankland Community Council.

V. CHINESE PARENTS ASSOCIATION OF ORDE AND OGDEN SCHOOLS

Orde Street School and Ogden Public School are two elementary (K-6) schools in Toronto's downtown section. Orde Street is a one block street directly behind the Education Building on College Street near University Avenue-Queen's Park Crescent. Ogden is nearby on Phoebe Street immediately north of the Queen-Spadina intersection in the midst of a commercial district. The catchment area of the two schools is highly populated by working class Chinese-Canadians who have immigrated from Hong Kong. As a result about 80% of the pupils at Orde and well over 90% of Ogden's students are of Chinese descent and use the Cantoneese dialect.

Two local candidates in the December 2, 1972, trustee elections for the Board of Education of the City of Toronto mobilized about 20 Chinese University of Toronto students they had had contact with in their days in student politics, to help canvass the Chinese section of their ward. The canvassers were instructed to provoke discussion and dialogue with the parents by asking general questions concerning the "school and their kids." What they found out was that the Chinese parents were not upset over the schools' academic performance, "but what they were upset about was that the school didn't offer any support for the kids' language or culture." The parents did not articulate the problem in these terms but it was revealed in the numerous stories of how the children refused to speak Chinese and were ashamed of their families. The trustee candidates

then arranged a discussion with the U. of T. students, some parents, and a couple of Chinese workers from the neighborhood University Settlement. The canvassers returned to the Chinese community and asked parents what they thought could be a solution to this problem. The response was simple enough; get the school to recognize the language and culture by formally teaching the Chinese language. After the election, in which one of the candidates was successful, weekly meetings with the Chinese of U. of T. students and University Settlement community workers were held at the University Settlement building to discuss what could realistically be accomplished.

Meanwhile the Toronto Board of Education had adopted a recommendation from the Schools Program Committee to undertake a city-wide survey "to determine the varying needs for French instruction in the Toronto Public Schools to serve as a basis for future planning of programs." The newly elected trustee for the ward (containing both Orde and Ogden) moved an amendment to the French Survey adding a second section which asked;

- "If an optimal course of 20 minutes per day were offered in a language other than English or French, would you enroll your child in this program?"

- If you answered "YES" to the question above, "in what language would you prefer this instruction to be?"

Two University Settlement workers, on L.I.P. grants, went door to door alerting the Orde and Ogden Chinese parents

about the upcoming French Survey. As a result the survey revealed that approximately 50% of the respondents from both Orde and Ogden would opt for a Chinese language program if it were offered. The University Settlement workers once more returned to the community, this time with the results of the survey to encourage more parents and other community people to help in the development of the language program. These workers, in consultation with the local trustee, decided to set up a group of community people to negotiate with the Board and the schools. This group came to be known as "The Committee for the Development of Chinese Language and Culture" and was not a strictly local group but one composed of Chinese Priests and Ministers, the principals of two Chinese schools, Chinese businessmen, and influential persons in the Chinese community. The involved trustee claimed that "its position was only to sponsor this discussion in its initial stages and to hand it over to the parents once they had developed amongst themselves." In March of 1973 a delegation from this group went to the Board to help the trustee get a policy statement adopted generally approving "language and cultural subjects" for "third language groups" as possible programs in Toronto schools. The group presented a proposal to the New Canadian Committee on May 15, 1973, asking that the Board approve optional Chinese language classes of 20 minutes a day, five days a week, during school hours at Orde and Ogden schools beginning in September 1973. The New Canadian Committee suggested to the Chinese group that they get more involve-

ment from the parents of Orde and Ogden and set up a more concrete proposal. The local trustee, also a member of the New Canadian Committee, met weekly with the University Settlement workers and attempted to get parents to meet at the University Settlement building to discuss the proposed language program. The trustee commented, "We didn't bring the schools into it at this time, we should have, that's one of the major mistakes, in that one of the schools [Orde] was never really brought into supporting the program." After securing 200 signatures on a petition supporting the language program the Chinese parents decided to set up a formal organization to meet regularly with trustees from the Board. The parents formed themselves into the Chinese Parents Association of Orde and Ogden Schools (C.P.A.), elected officers, and held regular meetings at the University Settlement. About 25-30 parents were actively involved and formed a core group including an executive of ten. Co-chairmen from each school were elected but one would be amiss to conclude that the group was anything but completely unified - no thought was ever given to meeting separately or in any way dividing the C.P.A. along Orde/Ogden lines.

The most actively involved University Settlement worker classified the parents as typically working class, with low educational backgrounds, and almost completely non-English speaking. The local trustee retained his close ties with the group and understood that the C.P.A. had a single objective - "their number one agenda, the reason they got together, was to work on the Chinese language and Cultural

Program." A tentative liaison was set up with both schools when the C.P.A. "introduced" themselves through a University Settlement worker. The local trustee also had visited each school to discuss the results of the French Survey with the principals. On June 26, 1973, the C.P.A. presented a petition for "Chinese Language Instruction at Orde Street and Ogden Public Schools" to the School Programs Committee of the Toronto Board of Education asking for 30 minute Chinese language courses in the Cantoneese dialect for grades one through six, and "that the Board of Education be responsible for funding the Chinese course." At that time the School Programs Committee referred the petition to the New Canadian Committee for further consideration and feed-back between the Board and the C.P.A. Although the petition stated in part that "We have contacted the principals of Orde and Ogden schools and they are very responsive to our suggestions" it was not until after its submission to the Board that the principals were invited to C.P.A. meetings. The Board asked each school to form joint school-community committees before formulating a more complete proposal. It was only then that the local trustee convinced the C.P.A. to invite the principals to its meetings. There was some feeling that the schools, expecially Orde, "wanted to run the committees" but the parents persisted and succeeded in having the committee meet (with both principals as members) at the University Settlement rather than at the schools, and conducted in Chinese rather than in English.

A committee was formed to plan the technical aspects of the program. Representatives from the United

Action of Chinese Canadians, the Woodgreen Chinese Association, the Chinese United Church, and some individuals experienced in running Chinese schools, meet with parents on this Technical Planning Committee. The committee also met with trustees and other Board people to get information and assistance in preparing a rational for the program and drafting a complete proposal. It was during this period that the Board convinced the C.P.A. to accept the idea of the "Chinese-Canadian Bicultural/Bilingual Immersion Program" rather than a formal language program and informed them that the program could not be taken on at any "additional cost" to the Board. Although the two principals were asked to participate there was no other staff involvement and at times no school representation at all. The Chinese vice-principal at Ogden was perhaps the most active school participant in the C.P.A.'s early stages. Community participation was relatively good - besides the core group of two dozen or more, up to 300 parents were summoned to meetings when it was "politically expedient." When the final proposal was submitted to the New Canadian Committee on July 20, 1973, the C.P.A. had dropped its demands for a strict language program and for Board funding. While the proposal was supposed to be sponsored "jointly" by the school and community there was no formal support from Orde school (the principal was on holiday and unable to attend meetings) although the vice-principal of Ogden did approve the proposal on behalf of her school's "administration and staff." The proposal claimed that there was some "general, if

i complete," agreement from the principal of Orde but went on to admit that in the case of the proposal for Orde Street School specifically; "It is submitted for your consideration in anticipation of agreement from the school rather than as a result of agreement between the community involved and the school." (original emphasis) The Board adopted the proposal on August 2, 1973, with the major amendment, "That the program be established on a one year experimental basis and be reviewed and evaluated at the end of that time." There was quite a long interval of time until the approval of the Ministry of Education was granted (near the end of November) during which the Chinese parents became frustrated and lost morale. After "lots of frustrating meetings in which the Board was challenged to get going" trustees and other Board representatives finally won the confidence of the Chinese and buoyed up their spirits that the program would get underway before long. Concurrently the Technical Committee actively began searching for volunteer teachers and a fund raising campaign started in earnest. The C.P.A. managed to obtain a grant of $10,000.00 from the federal government's Secretary of State office; a $3,000.00 donation from the United Action of Chinese Canadians; and the Chinese parents generated about $1,500.00 from their local community through fairs, dances, etc. The Board, of course, provided no funding whatsoever and the grants mentioned above were made directly to the C.P.A. and were administered by them. With this financial backing the Chinese-Canadian Bicultural/Bilingual Immersion Program

began a few months into the 1974-75 school year at Orde and Ogden schools. At the end of that school year, with three months left to go in the one year experiment and money running low, the C.P.A. managed to acquire a L.I.P. grant to fund the remainder of the program to be given the school year 1975-76.

When the proposal for the Chinese program was first made some community people felt that the principals were nonsupportive of the program because they thought it would interrupt and interfere with the regular program. An individual from the community has even suggested that someone from the Board "put some pressure on the Principal of Orde" to accept the program despite his reservations. Irrespective of this, a University Settlement worker said that the principals' acceptance of the program and the C.P.A. increased as a result of the Board's display of support - i.e.: The Board sponsorship served to legitimize the C.P.A. and its proposed program. The principal at Ogden said that when the Bicultural/Bilingual program was first presented to her, it was given her "full support." Regardless of the principals' support or nonsupport for the proposal, there was at most "very little input/ participation of staff and school ... until after the proposal was approved by the Board." At that time most staff members were not certain of what role they could or should play in the formation of the program, but later, as the program got under way many felt that they should have been consulted and involved in its formative stages. The local trustee went on to say further that the proposal "was parent initiated from the start with not much increase in staff involvement." According to a University Settlement worker, the first ordered and sustained involvement of the principals came only when

the Technical Committee began devising the "day to day lesson plans" for the program. In any event, the two principals and a Board community liaison officer agreed that there was "regular consultation" and "constant cooperation" during the actual formation of the detailed program. At Ogden, the principal and Chinese vice-principal regularly "reported to the staff" what was transpiring in the program's course of development.

The bicultural/bilingual program came into much criticism from many sources. The Chinese parents themselves wanted a language program that would teach grammar, syntax, spelling, etc., and were disappointed that they had to settle for a 'cultural' program instead. While some parents felt that the title 'Chinese-Canadian Bicultural/Bilingual Immersion Program' was "just a ploy" to get provincial government approval, the "Board did not realize that the Chinese did not really understand" that it was not to be the language program they had originally envisioned. However, the C.P.A. executive "wanted to get its foot into the door, as a start, and hope it may develop into a language program" in the long term. As could be expected the schools and their staffs levied much criticism at the program. Although individual teachers at both schools held some reservations about the program there was much more discontent at Orde. A community liaison officer with the Board said that the "Orde staff is inherently opposed" to the program; the local trustee noted that there was never "complete approval of the language and cultural program

from the beginning by the school" and that the "teachers at Orde don't approve of the concept and say that it didn't work last year (1974-75)"; a Chinese University Settlement worker said that "some teachers felt that the Chinese cultural program was a 'second rate' program"; and finally, the principal of Orde Street School stated that some of his staff "felt the program was a waste of time."

Although the Board called for "joint administration" of the program by school and community (the community providing people, content, and materials, and the school leading educational "know how" and curriculum development assistance), there was very little contact, let alone consultation, between school and community during the time the program was given. The program appeared to operate more smoothly at Ogden than at Orde. Orde's principal felt that as there was "no staff involvement" with the C.P.A.'s program, he had very ltttle opportunity to exercise his supposed "pedagogical control." He twice asked for meetings with the C.P.A. during which he questioned the quality and organization of the program, saying it was "badly managed" and that because of this he "feared the Board would drop the program." There is a "gap between the school staff and the Chinese teachers" which is a consequence of the school personnel being involved with neither the planning nor the running of the program. This gap has created "many misunderstandings between the regular school teachers and the Chinese teachers." A University Settlement worker explained that the staff was not asked to become involved in the daily planning of the course because of the agree-

ment with the Board that "the program would not cost extra staff time." The regular teachers usually remained in the class to help supervise the students and many of the Chinese teachers complained about having teachers watching and evaluating them. "The regular teachers expect professional standards from the Chinese teachers," but a C.P.A. spokesman thought this attitude was unreasonable because most of the Chinese teachers were volunteers with no teaching experience. At Ogden, where teachers were less critical of the program, there was a group of local community volunteers headed by a well educated Chinese woman "who took the ball in her arms and ran with it." The result was a relatively smooth and successful program at Ogden. On the other hand, the Chinese teachers at Orde were local university students who received a small honorarium for their work. The principal and staff assailed their lack of punctuality and classroom discipline, and criticized their poor performance overall. Indeed, the Orde principal saw the use of "untrained and inexperienced personnel ... for the direct handling of pupils" as the major drawback of the program in his school. The university students were supposed to be bilingual but most were in fact unilingual Chinese; they were unstable - several quit with little or no notice; and they stayed exactly twenty minutes a day, leaving the school as quickly as possible. The schools and the community both agree that a primary disadvantage of the use of volunteers was that there was very little communication between the Chinese teachers and school staff because the volunteers

did not have time to stay in the school to discuss and consult with the regular teachers. Fortunately the remaining three months of the experimental period for the Chinese-Canadian Bicultural/Bilingual Immersion Program (now underway) is being staffed by better qualified Chinese teachers (paid by the L.I.P. grants) who will spend a much greater part of the day in the school. The principal of Orde says of the new Chinese teacher that he is a "well qualified, educated non-professional" whom his "staff says is co-operative but inexperienced."

Staffroom meetings were held on the 24th and 28th of November, 1975, at Orde and Ogden schools respectively to assess the program of last year and to introduce the new Chinese teacher at each school. Those present included Board people (area superintendant and assistant, community liaison co-officers, Curriculum Committee representative, etc.), the principal and staff, University Settlement workers, a few parents from the C.P.A., and of course the new Chinese teacher. The meetings, requested by the University Settlement workers for the C.P.A., had the same predictable comments; that the "non-continuity of teacher/volunteers was a real problem last year," that "last year the staff was divided from the volunteers," and that "some teachers can't see the point of the program" and feel the acquisition of English language skills is more important. The staff at Ogden emphasized that this was only an "isolated minority view" but thought that the "program should be better explained." At Orde support for the program was apparently

not the consensus opinion of the staff but they went along with it, hoping for improvement over last year. The Ogden principal felt that the program had a better chance this time because the new Chinese teacher "is really part of the staff." In fact the teacher, at the school for a week, had already worked out an informal agreement with the regular teachers concerning the length of time per day that the younger children would be in the Chinese program (i.e.: they could not 'cope' with the full 30 minutes alloted). There was discussion also of the amount of Canadian content in the program. The 'bi' in the bicultural/ bilingual was for the most part absent in that the Chinese portion was much greater than the Canadian. The point was made that it is often difficult to find Canadian/Chinese parallels and maintain a 50/50 split in the program, and although some 'parallelisms' are built into the program the "rest is left up to the teacher." The principal of Orde had complained the year before about too little Canadian content but the C.P.A.'s Technical Committee had met with the Board and gotten approval saying that the program need not have strictly 50% Canadian content because much of it would be supplied through the regular class work. In spite of this a Board representative cautioned all to remember that as an experiment of limited duration, "the program is subject to scrutiny from both the Board and Ministry." At the Ogden meeting a University Settlement worker suggested regular meetings with the C.P.A., the Chinese teacher, and the staff, to which the staff replied that problems could

be worked out on a "casual basis." A Chinese parent and active C.P.A. member said (through the interpretation of the University Settlement worker) that the community "wants to have some consultation with the teachers" concerning the program. The suggestion by a Board representative to have "informal progress report" meetings when the staff (including the Chinese teacher) felt it was necessary was unanimously accepted. At each meeting's end there were assurances to the Chinese that the Toronto Board of Education and the two schools (at least formally) supported the program.

The University Settlement has acted as the most vital source of support for the C.P.A. through the group's inception to the present. Prior to 1973 University Settlement did not involve itself with the local schools to any significant extent and, further, its involvement with the Chinese community was quite limited. In 1973 it experienced an influx of Chinese staff supported by L.I.P. grants to work on projects related to the Chinese community - eg.: senior citizens, housing, etc. It was only during and after the Board elections of December, 1972, that the University Settlement became more closely associated with Orde and Ogden cchools. The local trustee had first come to the University Settlement to recruit people to help him canvass Chinese voters, and afterwards to help organize the Chinese parents around the language program issue. The University Settlement has become the gathering place for the Chinese community. The Board community liaison officer says, "That's our contact, that's where we meet." That meetings are commonly held at University Settlement rather than at

the schools or at the Board is not completely by accident or convenience. From the start the local trustee felt it essential to have meetings there "so as to put parents in a role of familiarity - in their own language and place." All parties involved agree that there is "no gap between University Settlement staff and the Chinese parents" and that the Chinese workers from the University Settlement are "very articulate" spokesmen for the local Chinese community. It is difficult to distinguish where the C.P.A. begins and the University Settlement ends; with meetings being held in the University Settlement building, University Settlement workers participating in all meetings, and acting as ever present interpretors. Nevertheless, the workers feel that their goal is "to help the community group to become an independant organization." The organizational work done by the University Settlement has been invaluable to the development and very existance of the C.P.A. because most of the Chinese parents work "irregular, often long hours" (eg.: the husband at night in a restaurant and the wife during the day at a factory) which makes it extremely difficult to attract parents to meetings.

No parents organizations were operating at either Orde or Ogden prior to the C.P.A.'s formation in 1973. At Orde the principal said that he and his staff had unsuccessfully tried to get volunteer parents for field trips and the like. Although letters were sent to parents in Chinese and some teachers visited homes, the level of parental participation remained very low. The long working hours of

parents and cultural-linguistic factors were blamed for the failure to attract volunteers. Yet when called upon most of the parents attended scheduled teacher interviews and general parents' nights. In conjunction with these occasions the principal of Orde said he was well pleased with "the way they [the Chinese parents] come to the school when we want them to." Two years ago when the present principal arrived at Ogden "there was no visible relationship between school and community;" an attempt to start a traditional Home and School Association some years earlier had ended in failure. Several years before the previous principal had managed to convince the Board to allow his school a Chinese speaking vice-principal to help deal with the community. This vice-principal did an "incredible amount of calling over the phone to get parents to come to the school." Except for monthly meetings (open to all parents, but nearly all are Chinese), which the vice-principal" practically ordered the Chinese to come to," there was little other community involvement at the school even though the principal claimed to have "suggested a volunteer program."

There is no doubt that the "parents from Orde Street School are not as active as those at Ogden," but does this have "to do with the schools' encouragement" as a University Settlement worker claims? The local trustee stated that there were obvious differences in the schools from the beginning; "Orde was open to parents making their own initiative, but was less interactive and does not reach out out." Orde's principal countered by saying that the lang-

uage program was initially conceived by the "University Settlement and the parents of Ogden." One of the first co-Chairmen of the C.P.A. was from Orde but as far as the principal knows there was perhaps "only one other parent from Orde." The principal sent a Chinese speaking lay assistant from the school "to see the committee (C.P.A.) to get more Orde parents on it." The principal remembers a public meeting which only one parent from Orde attended, and more recently, there were no Orde parents at all attending the staffroom meeting to assess last year's program and introduce the new Chinese teacher to the Orde staff. Perhaps justifiably, the Orde principal feels that the C.P.A. is an Ogden parents group only. Recently "the University Settlement has been pushing for a day care centre" and Orde Street School is conveniently located and has some space available. The principal of Orde set up what he called a "parallel use committee" to look into the matter vis-à-vis some reconstruction (necessitated by fire regulations) that will be taking place at the school shortly. According to the principal this committee met once and has disbanded after deciding that day care should be reconsidered upon completion of the construction. No C.P.A. parents were on the "parallel use committee" because the principal "got our own parents for the committee" - i.e.: meaning Orde parents not the regular C.P.A. parents from Ogden. The local trustee called a meeting to discuss the possible closure of Orde Street to through traffic for the pupils' safety as had been done to Phoebe Street at Ogden school.

No Orde parents came to the meeting until after a University Settlement worker had made a few phone calls, and even then only "a couple came later on." The principal feels that the Chinese parents of Orde are not interested in many of the C.P.A.'s issues and made the statement that the C.P.A. has had "no other involvement with Orde Street School other than with the Chinese-Canadian Bicultural/Bilingual Immersion Program."

The situation at Ogden is different because of the closer liaison between school and community provided by the Chinese vice-principal and as a consequence of the fact that the active C.P.A. people are Ogden parents. The monthly meetings sponsored by the school are always attended by the Chinese vice-principal and a University Settlement worker. At these meetings the parents are kept informed about the progress of the cultural program and other school matters. It was through this group that several Chinese university students on an Opportunity for Youth grant were able to consult with the parents and with their help ultimately complete an 'adventure playground' in the school yard. The parents from these meetings were also responsible for the removal of the fence around the school and the closing of Phoebe Street directly in front of the school. Under the guidance of the University Settlement and the C.P.A. some Ogden parents have recently put together the "Ogden Parents Committee' to "deal with problems specific to Ogden Public School." This committee is not restricted to Chinese parents but is dominated by the C.P.A. and is

not much different from that group in membership and attitudes. Although it has made an "official request for full cooperation" from the school it has little provision for the participation of either teachers or principal. One of the "problems in the school" that this group "plans to look into" is the "role of the principal."

On November 26, 1975, at 8 p.m. a few hundred Ogden parents met at Ogden school to protest the proposed transfer of the Chinese vice-principal. The principal, vice-principal, and some teachers sat at the back of the crowded gymnasium while the two ward trustees, the area superintendent and his assistant, and an interpretor from the University Settlement formed the head table. The meeting was arranged by an active C.P.A. mother (who was "at the Board 10 minutes after finding out the vice-principal was to go") in coordination with the area superintendent. According to the city-wide formula for staffing the number of pupils at Ogden (only 267) necessitated the transfer of the vice-principal. The Metro Guidelines state that to qualify for a vice-principal Ogden would have to have over 500 pupils. Faced with a tight budget situation and reports that a number of other schools with higher enrolments had no vice-principal, the Board decided that the transfer could not be avoided. But, in the words of the assistant superintendent; "the community exploded and the Board realized it could not remove the vice-principal at this time." In the light of this community reaction against the transfer the Board decided to keep the vice-

principal on temporarily until the end of the year and to review the case next September, 1976. The parents were still very unhappy because the superintendent added that "unless there is an appreciable increase in the enrolment at this school a reduction in the administrative staff can not be avoided." The parents then called for the transfer of the principal and the retention of the vice-principal. Some parents spoke, claiming that the principal is "not a good principal" and charging her with negligence, irresponsibility, and creating racial distrust. In contrast they said that the vice-principal was very helpful in dealing with parents and children because of her linguistic and cultural abilities and background. At one one point an individual shouted out that the principal should "go home" while another tried to get a show of hands to indicate how many parents wanted the principal removed rather than the vice-principal. Although much of the criticism of the principal was apparently a backlash against the move to transfer the vice-principal it was obvious that a majority of parents supported one speaker who called for a Chinese speaking principal for the routine running of the school. The trustees defended the principal, explaining that the 'role function' of the vice-principal was that of acting in a receiving role towards the community and parents, while the principal's role consisted of dealing with the Board's administration, handling funding issues, and other such activities which for the most part are submerged from the parents. The meeting came to an

abrupt end when the trustee moved that a committee of parents, school staff and Board representatives be set up to review the problem and report back to the parents before March. The parents were resigned that this was all they could get out of the meeting but they left vociferously expressing substantial disapproval of the fact that no assurances were offered that the vice-principal would not be dropped next year. As a result of this issue much bitterness and tension has built up between the school staff and the C.P.A.

The 'joint' community-school proposal offered to the Board in July of 1973 stated that "Both the community and the school understand that mutual trust and commitment, close cooperation, intense planning and consistent communication are critical to the success of this proposed endeavour" (i.e.: the Chinese program). The truth is that there is presently very little mutual trust, cooperation, or communication between the schools and the representatives of the Chinese community. The principal of Orde says that the C.P.A. "has a lot of meetings we don't even know about ... [and] do all manner of things we have no idea they are even contemplating - they just appear suddenly!" Likewise the principal of Ogden says that she is "not informed of meetings" nor the future plans of the C.P.A. and has "no idea" about many of its actions. She feels that the C.P.A. is "totally out of my hands," and because the trustees "lead them to believe they can run the school" it is now "too demanding." Moreover, "the staff feels that the

community impresses their wishes rather than consulting with them." Consequently some of the staff feels threatened, and are defensive and alienated from the community, especially the C.P.A. The University Settlement worker claims that ideally the C.P.A. "represents a channel of communication between the school and the parents" but "in some cases the principals may feel the committee represents a threat to them" and that "difficulties occur due to misunderstandings, cultural gap, and communications barrier between the principal and parents." Whereas the parents complain that they "cannot get full cooperation" from the schools, the principals retort that the C.P.A. "does not communicate their needs to the principal." More division between community and school is reflected in a University Settlement worker's statement that the school has judged the C.P.A. to be "an outsider" while the Orde principal concludes that the cultural program "belongs to the community, not the school." This is hardly an indication of the "compatibility between the home and school which involves a collaboration between the parents and the school" envisioned by the Toronto Board's Multicultural Work Group.

One last note must be given to the problem of sustaining the Chinese parents' interest in the C.P.A. According to University Settlement workers; "the Chinese program is the only issue, the only program, which has the continuous interest" of the parents. Although parent interest is lifted by "crisis situations" (eg.: running out of program funds, or the transfer of the vice-principal),

"when the problem is solved they lose their interest." "If there is not an issue getting the parents' interest they won't come out" to C.P.A. meetings and it has been difficult to find issues with which the Chinese parents are genuinely concerned - eg.: "only a few" parents are interested in the milk program and there has been almost "no interest" expressed by parents for day care. The Ogden parents' work on the closing of Phoebe Street indicates that the parents of that school may be concerned with a greater variety of issues than are those from Orde where no parental interest was shown for the proposed closing of Orde Street. The emergence of the Ogden Parents Committee and absence of a similar group at Orde Street School is a further indication of the wider scope of interest exhibited by the parents of Ogden Public School. Though "problems directly involved with students " are likely to generate substantial interest amongst Chinese parents, a University Settlement worker reports that "the schools never seek out the C.P.A. to initiate an issue" and thus do not encourage parents to participate in the school.

The forthcoming analysis (Chapter VI) will attempt to trace the development of the C.P.A. from a specific goal oriented interest group sponsored by outside agencies, to a more or less independent autonomous client association with expanded interests. A close theoretical examination will be made of the roles played by both principals and the vice-principal (at Ogden) as boundary personnel, and the effects of the large social distance and lack of solidarity between the schools and the community. Differences in the above regards between Orde and Ogden present interesting comparisons which will also be addressed in the next chapter.

VI. ANALYSIS

In this chapter the theoretical formulations outlined previously will be applied to an analysis of the development and growth of the C.P.A. - O.P.C. and the F.C.C. (including the Greek Parents Faction). Some general theoretical interpretations are made dealing with the economic, social, and organizational skills and resources of each client group; initially, with respect to the orgins of the client-interest associations, and secondly, as they effect the social distance between the school personnel and parents across the service organization-clientele bourdary. Thirdly, efforts to overcome win-lose attitudes and zero-sum interpretations of both clients and service organization personnel to achieve trust and solidarity are addressed making use of the auxiliary-autonomous client association distinction as well as considerations of informal means. This "General Analytical Review" is followed by a more specified examination of data classification and interpretation in an "Itemized Theoretical Application." The patterns of "Organizational Development" are then set out, and lastly, an attempt to analyse and prognosticate further such development through a "Schematic Interpretation" concludes this chapter.

General Analytical Review

This section traces an analytical review of:

(1) the social resources and other characteristics of each client group prior to and at the time of the formation of an active parents group;

(2) the sources of outside support or opposition, from the board or other such agencies, for the parents group;

(3) the beginning of exchanges of information and co-operative interaction between the service organization and client groups;

(4) the role of the principals, as holders of the leading boundary personnel positions; and

(5) the extent of formalization of the client interest group and the degree of routinization of its relationships with the service organization.

The differences in the natural histories of the C.P.A. and F.C.C. stem from the roots which gave life to these groups. The Frankland school community has within it a sizably larger proportion of middle class anglo Canadians than does the community within the catchment area of Orde and Ogden schools. As might typically be expected the working class community of Greek-Canadians (many of whom are new immigrants) at Frankland have been shown to be less active than the anglo section of the F.C.C. This is largely because of linguistic, cultural, and philosophical factors. It might be argued that had they not been concerned primarily with their own Greek program they may have participated on an equal basis with anglo parents. This line of reasoning must be judged incorrect because while the anglos have a core of active and easily recognizable leaders, the Greek parents are an ever changing group from which no visible leaders have arisen. Moreover, they do not initiate ideas and consistently 'tag along' after the anglo F.C.C. lead. Their beginnings and continuance as a participating group in Frankland's affairs is predicated upon "outside support" for the Greek program. Originally the Greater Riverdale Organization, with an aggressive determined community worker, organized the parents and pushed them until the Greek-Canadian Bicultural/Bilingual Immersion Program was accepted by the Board. In the planning and implementation stages of the program the Board's Technical Committee and New Canadian Committee, as well as its Greek social worker-interpretor, served in a supportive and guiding capacity. It is doubtful that the Greek parents

would have initiated the drive for their language program without the impetus supplied by the G.R.O. It is also doubtful that the program would have been implemented without the constant efforts of the social worker-interpreter. The same holds true for the predominantly working class Chinese-Canadian parents of Orde and Ogden schools. Without the support of the University Settlement, its community worker-interpretors, and the diligent insistent prodding of the local trustee, it is very improbable that the movement for a Chinese language program would have been contemplated by the Chinese parents. During the development of its program the C.P.A., like the Greek parents, received a great deal of support from the Board as well as the vital continuing support from the University Settlement. Both cases are instances where a relatively "socially disadvantaged" client group successfully made some input into a 'domesticated' public service organization with the aid of initial support from an outside social agency and, later on, with the support of the service organization's own publicly elected policy-making board. The current "crisis in urban education" and recent politicization of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto made this support possible. It must also be noted that the successful motivating and organization of the Greek parents and the C.P.A. was facilitated by and perhaps due to the fact that each group was concentrated upon a single salient issue - the goal of forming a language program.

On the other hand the anglo parents of Frankland Public School could communicate with the school's professionals not only in their own language, but also in their cultural terms, and on their own socio-economic level. As a client group they have more education and social-organization abilities than do the working class Greeks and Chinese. Hence, the anglo Frankland parents have more resources avail-

able to them as a social group. It is little wonder that this higher socio-economic group, with a greater awareness and understanding of Canadian culture, society, government, and public institutions, would be more likely to take its own initiative in school matters and produce its own leadership than would a less affluent and largely immigrant group. As a result, the F.C.C., during the process of its development, did not require an outside supporting agency to motivate nor guide it. Moreover, as a consequence of the parents' ability to deal with the staff on an equal basis (eg.: the building committee had some professional parents on it - architects, engineers, etc.), and the amount of social resources at the group's disposal, the F.C.C.'s closest liaisons have always been directly with individual staff members and school staff as a whole rather than an outside agency or through the central policy-making board. The relative participatory strength of the anglo Frankland parents vis-à-vis the Greek parents and the Chinese at Orde and Ogden can be seen in; the virtual non-participation of the Greeks in both the old Frankland Home and School Association and the foundation of the F.C.C.; the Ogden parents' failure to support a Home and School Association despite the efforts of the school (as far as they went); and the Orde parents' history of infrequent passive attendance at the occasional parent-teacher sessions. The intervention (between school and community) of outside agencies and the Board on the part of the two ethnic-linguistic groups helped maintain much of the 'social distance' which existed between these communities and the schools. But there was an 'optimal' social distance to maintain between the C.P.A. and Orde and Ogden schools as far as the local trustee was concerned. The Chinese parents (likewise the Greeks), not socially nor culturally equipped to successfully contend with the school personnel on an in-

dividual basis, could escape this disadvantage by maintaining sufficient social distance between themselves and the school so that communication and negotiation would have to be on a formal basis, often through a third party, rather than on the socially 'closer' interpersonal level. This social distance is further increased between the Greek parents of Frankland, and the Chinese parents of Orde and Ogden, with their respective schools because the teachers in the two cultural programs are not volunteer parents (eg.: university students, or paid, more qualified personnel). The anglo section of the F.C.C., on the contrary, was an outgrowth of a group of volunteer parents who daily assisted teachers in the classroom and in some instances became close friends as a result. Yet through the liaison with the F.C.C. the Greek parents have been able to reduce a part of this distance while still retaining some of their independence from the school.

In the 'zero-sum' discussion earlier it was postulated that any power given to the community in school affairs would mean a loss to the professionals. Both Orde and Ogden schools, in their efforts to involve parents previous to the emergence of the C.P.A., had tried to create the needed trust between school and community by the use of parent-teacher nights, newsletters, monthly meetings chaired by the school, etc. None of these means of communication provide for any real community participation nor parental input into the school and as such did not threaten to erode the power of the professionals. Moreover, the dichotomy of the zero-sum of power between administration (principals) and functionaries (teachers) was evident in both of these schools. The principals at Orde and Ogden can be seen as performing the more or less traditional role of principal as the 'principal' amongst a group of equal subordinates in a hierarchy of authority. Hence, when the principals first became aware of the development of

the C.P.A. they assumed an exclusive 'boundary personnel' role (along with the vice-principal at Ogden) with little or no thought to any extensive or meaningful participation of their teaching staffs in the development or implementation of the cultural programs. In fact, when the principals identified the concept of a jointly (school and community) developed and administered in-school program as a possible means of weakening their power within their own schools, the principals themselves did not make any meaningful attempts to form close co-operative liaison with the community groups in the preliminary stages. Even now they prefer to treat the program as almost totally outside their realm of responsibility, letting the community be fully responsible for it. In this way, although the program is given in the school and during school hours, the program has attained a special detached status. The principals of Orde and Ogden hoped to avoid any loss of power to the community by largely ignoring (except for criticisms) the daily operation of the program altogether. This was easily accomplished as a result of the Board's specification that the program not be at any additional cost in terms of teacher time, school supplies, and Board money. There was more co-operation at Ogden School where the Chinese speaking vice-principal, who habitually occupied the primary boundary position in lieu of the principal, had generated closer ties with C.P.A. parents and the University Settlement workers. This arrangement has backfired somewhat with the 'vice-principal transfer' debate at Ogden. By so isolating the principal from the community (i.e.: through the use of the 'community liaison' role for the vice-principal) there has been created the dangerously explosive situation wherein the social distance between the administrative head of the school and the community may be greater than in the instance when no

such vice-principal exists. With the staff giving its loyalty to the principal (out of 'professional loyalty' - in exchange for her defense of their professional status against parental criticism and possible attack) the entire professional staff at Ogden is now at least suspicious and resentful towards some of the community.

At Frankland School the previous, now retired, principal had adopted a laissez-faire attitude in the final years of his career. He did not debate nor question the Greek program too strenuously and allowed the community to develop the program on their own (with the continuous consultation of the Board). The new principal knew of and expressed support for the Greek program before he was selected as principal. He accepts the program as a fact of life and as it does not conflict with his philosophy of education he finds it easy to let the program continue as it is. As for the development of the F.C.C. from the old Home and School Association and through the Advisory Parents Board, the old principal assumed the same stance - allowing things to develop as they would, without his help or hindrance. Individual staff members were permitted to participate as they saw fit and some became active F.C.C. advocates. It was exceedingly important to the F.C.C. that the outgoing principal took the attitude he did, for any urging from his part towards the teaching staff not to become involved with a potentially powerful community group might have been decisive in the determination of its ultimate structure. Had he feared that both the active parents and teachers were increasing their power within the school at the expense of his own he could have brought to bear the punitive sanctions at his disposal (i.e.: as a consequence of his power-authority position) to retard, if not prevent the development of the F.C.C. completely. Thus the holder of the key boundary office for the school abdicated (by his own choice) much of

his traditional role and his laissez-faire approach helped the school/community boundary itself to diminish partially. The roles of community member and professional staff member began to overlap in the role of F.C.C. member. The selection of the present principal of Frankland by a committee containing allied staff and community representation has resulted in a semblance of continuance of the previous staff-parent coalition. The new principal has delegated some of the power in his role to the community (through the F.C.C.) and the staff (through the Staff Cabinet and the F.C.C.) but demands that both share the responsibility with him for decisions arrived at with their participation. There is, however, some redrawing of the school/community boundary. The organization of such a formal 'staff only' group as the Cabinet and the official splitting of the F.C.C. chairmanship into "school co-ordinator" (the principal) and "community co-ordinator" (a parent), are changes in the organizational structure of the school that may recreate divisions between school personnel and parents.

Regardless of the divisive effects resultant from the creation of the Staff Cabinet as a separate group (all staff can still maintain their F.C.C. membership as always) and the formalization of school and community differentiated leadership positions within the F.C.C., it is most probable that such a move is inevitably necessary. A 'confrontation' between school and community has not yet occurred at Frankland but the informality and lack of clear procedures caused some resentment and hostility between normally co-operative F.C.C. professionals and community persons during the 'educational assistants' issue. If the F.C.C. had clearly delineated legitimized procedures that were to be followed the kindergarten teachers, as active F.C.C. members, would have gone through proper channels, thus avoiding needless antagonism between school and community on an issue which both

parties in fact saw eye to eye. Again, if there arises a problem between staff and parents which threatens to develop into a confrontation issue because consensus cannot be achieved through the unstructured forum of the F.C.C. then a set of mutually binding rules, accepted by administrators, teachers, and parents alike, governing the joint school-community problem solving process would at least serve to regulate conflict even if the particular difficulty cannot be adequately resolved. Instead of constant bickering and a growing underswell of school-community mistrust there would be an ongoing process which, although it might end in arbitration by an extraneous person or body (eg.: the Board or Ministry), would allow rational, ordered debate on that issue. Furthermore, the distinction of a 'community co-ordinator' in the F.C.C. recognizes that the parents in the F.C.C. are not merely participating as individuals but are acting as the representatives of the Frankland community. In that the parents on the F.C.C. executive serve to present community interests in a stable co-ordinated manner, they effectively form the organized leadership of a collectivization of individual parents and parent interest groups. Indeed, when the Frankland principal presented the F.C.C. with a written staff position paper on the library issue, the 'social economics' of the situation were such that the 'community co-ordinator' must reply, not as an individual, but as a recognized leader of the collectivized client group. Although there is now an official division of school and community within the F.C.C. executive it remains that staff and parents still share roles as F.C.C. members and that the F.C.C. remains a co-operative school-community group (there are no membership restrictions on either side nor are offices 'closed' to either staff or parents other than the 'co-ordinator' positions). When the F.C.C. reaches a decision it is only after individual F.C.C. members, be they school staff or parents, have debated

and discussed the separate school and community positions presented.

In the sense that the F.C.C. is a co-operative school-community group, and because it operates in the school building and is actually a part of the school's organization, it is an association "auxiliary" to its focal organization, Frankland Public School. The C.P.A., while dealing specifically with Orde and Ogden schools, is neither attached to nor sponsored in any way by these schools (i.e.: its dual focal organizations). As such it is an "autonomous neighborhood association" external to the schools' organizational limits. Those Greek parents pursuing a language program at Frankland were also a part of an autonomous group but now as a result of F.C.C. membership they maintain a quasi autonomous position vis-à-vis the school. The fact that these groups (the Greeks and C.P.A.) were originally organized and sponsored by agencies and individuals from the schools' external environment predisposes them towards continuing to maintain a distinctive level of autonomy. From the outset the schools involved looked upon these groups as 'outsiders'. The groups meet in private and often do not inform the schools of their activities despite the impact these might ultimately have on the schools and the staff members. Moreover, when the bicultural/bilingual programs were finally agreed upon between the Board and the community groups the schools quite legitimately felt that the programs 'belonged' to the community. Social distance and the animosity between the schools and the linguistic minorities were increased because the community groups dealt directly with a higher authority, the Board, rather than with the local school. This is true despite the Board's facade of calling the C.P.A.'s and Greek parents' proposals "joint" school-community proposals. The schools did not participate in the formation of the

proposals and the Board, unknowingly or not, lead both the community and the schools to believe that the schools did not really have to be involved regardless of what was overtly stated. This was indeed a very serious 'faux pas' by the Toronto Board of Education, for had it refused to accept what were obviously 'community' proposals and demanded that the community consult more extensively with the individual schools before resubmitting a truly 'joint' proposal, perhaps the level of co-operation, solidarity and trust between the autonomous neighborhood groups and the schools could have been greatly increased. This is a case where an autonomous client group, without sufficient prior consultation with functionaries and the appropriate local boundary personnel, went directly to the central policy-making board of a public service institution to negotiate changes which would ultimately involve these lower level personnel. This strategy not only weakened any solidarity that existed between the local school staff and the community but also heightened the sense of frustration the professionally oriented school personnel has towards the bureaucratic authority of the higher educational administration and the partisan nature of the elected school board. The community groups, and the outside social agencies which supported them, can be excused for not realizing the need for immediate and continual school participation beginning from the development of the initial proposal, but the Board's higher administration and elected officers must be held accountable for their short sightedness.

Both Orde and Ogden schools have learnt to 'live' with the Chinese-Canadian Bicultural/Bilingual Immersion Program and have shown signs of becoming more involved and supportive, but the lack of informal co-operation and absence of institutionalized channels of regular communication between the schools and the C.P.A. has caused many mis-

understandings. The principal of Orde Street School views the C.P.A. as an outside organization. He is correct in this assessment because although it is a legitimate collectivized group of local school clients, the level of participation of Orde parents has been so low that the C.P.A. cannot be said to be collectivized client group of Orde Street School itself. The principal is more concerned with communicating exclusively with his school's parents about their children specifically, rather than with a 'community-wide' action group such as the Chinese Parents Association. At Ogden the school has made efforts (eg.: by hiring the Chinese speaking vice-principal and holding monthly meetings) to contact its Chinese parents, and it realizes that the parents of the C.P.A. are over-whelmingly Ogden parents. These circumstances have lead to the formation of the Ogden Parents Committee as an outgrowth of the C.P.A. Since the O.P.C. developed out of the C.P.A. it retains the general characteristics of the 'autonomous' C.P.A.; it does not encourage close staff-parent liaison and is not interested in having the school's sponsorship. The greatest drawback of such autonomous client groups is that although the service organization and the collectivized client group share the same concern about the 'quality of service' provided, they both operate in relative isolation of each other. This is because the community and school (each to a greater or lesser degree) interpret their relationship in win-lose terms. The controversy surrounding the transer of the Chinese speaking vice-principal is an excellent example of a lack of communication resulting in a divisive situation. The Ogden staff and the parents committee were in agreement with each other that the vice-principal should not be transferred but rather than collaborating on a joint protest to the Board each side went its own separate way. Not only was an opportunity lost to build up trust and co-operation between school and community on an issue of fundamental

agreement, but the lack of communication caused the situation to erupt into a bitter school vs. community fight which has created a wide gulf between staff and parents. An autonomous client group such as the C.P.A. - O.P.C. can have (as we have seen) a significant impact upon a public service organization but it does not of its nature create any trust nor sense of solidarity between the clients and the service organization. To contrast this situation one need only examine the 'educational assistants' issue at Frankland Public School. In that case parents and teachers agreed that they did not want to lose any lay assistants and acted together presenting a joint protest to the Board, and, proved that interaction between the school and community need not be win-lose (or zero-sum) situations. This co-operative action strengthened the bonds between parents and teachers. The F.C.C., as an auxiliary school-community group, provided a ready forum for rapid communication between parents and teachers and the resultant co-operative support certainly increased solidarity across the client-service organization boundary. The only difficulty arose when there was a misunderstanding as to what specific procedures should have been followed in the absence of precedent and/or formal procedural outlines.

ITEMIZED THEORETICAL APPLICATION

The foregoing general discussion provides an over-all perspective for the forthcoming itemized application of fact to theory and vice-versa. There are, for the purposes of this study, four basic theoretical constructs to be applied in the interpretation of three temperal classes of data. Neither the theoretical constructs nor classes of data are mutually exclusive; the divisions of theory are made more or less arbitrarily for the purposes of analytical clarity, and many factors within the data impinge upon developments over time. The theoretical constructs are as follows:

(a) zero-sum power arrangement across the client-service organization boundary, (Musgrave, Hall, Dahrendorf)

(b) resolution/regulation of conflict across the client-service organization boundary through the development of a mutually agreeable normative order and the formation of a quasi-parliamentary body, (Fox, Dahrendorf)

(c) creation of solidarity and trust across the client-service organization boundary by way of reciprocal exchange of inputs with special reference to the role of boundary personnel, (Parsons, Evan)

(d) social economy and social distance between the service organization and the auxiliary or autonomous collectivized client group, (Rosengren, Litwak & Meyer)

The general temporal classes of data are as follows:

(1) initially; the roles of parents, school personnel, the Board, and outside agencies in the processes and events leading to the formation of the C.P.A. - O.P.C. and the F.C.C. (Anglo and Greek sections),

(2) subsequently; the development of school-community interaction and communication on issues concerning school programs and related considerations, and

(3) finally; the present state of relations between the community groups and the schools, and the impact these relationships, coupled with emergent issues, will have on the future of school-community relations.

Let us first examine the development of the Frankland Community Council. The F.C.C. experienced a rather smooth development because of various reasons, the most salient of which are classified below.

(1) The formative stages -

> Before the F.C.C.'s formation the school already had a traditional type Home and School Association in which nearly all of the active parents were middle class anglos, and further, the laissez faire, soon to be retired principal allowed parent-staff relations to develop freely. Hence, the existence of this auxiliary client group, the high social economy of the clientele, and the principal's (i.e.: as holder of the primary boundary personnel office) non-concern about his possible loss of power; resulted in a small social distance between school and community, effective and free communication between parents and school staff, and a substantial degree of solidarity and trust across the client-service organization boundary.

(2) The development of school-community interaction -

> After the F.C.C.'s formation there was a continuous exchange of information and joint involvement of school staff and community members on issues of shared interest, specifically, the co-operative staff-parents participation in the selection of the new principal. Thus, the frequent and extensive exchange of inputs across the service organization-client boundary, the interpretation of many interactions by service organization and client member alike as non-zero sum or win/win situations, and the continued support for the auxiliary community association by each successive incumbant of the primary boundary personnel office, have all served to help generate more trust and solidarity as well as some normative agreement and mutual adherence to fairly routinized ways and means of handling a variety of issues and problems.

(3) The present and near future -

> More recently, there has been the founding of the "Frankland Staff Cabinet" which meets autonomously from the F.C.C. and determines a definitive 'staff position' to be presented to the F.C.C. prior to debate, also, the F.C.C. itself has made a formalized differentiation of 'school' and 'community' executive positions. Developments such as those above may result not only in the need for more

> formalized organizational forms and quasi-parliamentary rules to work out mutually agreeable solutions (i.e.: resolution/regulation) to issues of potential school-community conflict, but, in that such developments have reinforced the boundary between service organization and client group, they may also decrease the free exchange of inputs, diminish solidarity and trust, and increase the social distance and the autonomy of the client group from the service-organization.

For their part the Greek Parents Association of Frankland and Jackman Schools and the C.P.A. encountered more difficulties than did the F.C.C.

(1) The formative stages -

> The Greek and Chinese parents were not at all active in their respective schools prior to the formation of their own groups; their ethnic, class, and educational backgrounds were very different from the schools' staff; and the principals involved did not actively seek out or encourage parent participation in school affairs. As a consequence of this inactivity and the unorganized nature of the client group, its low level of social economy (i.e.: skills and resources), the high social distance between service organization and client members, the lack of exchange of inputs across the service organization-client boundary, and finally the reluctance of the key boundary personnel to encourage such exchanges; there was no solidarity and little trust across the service organization-client boundary. As a result it was necessary that 'outside' social agencies (University Settlement, G.R.O., and the board) take the initiative to organize them into a single goal oriented (i.e.: language programme), autonomous client interest groups.

(2) The development of school-community interaction -

> Both the Greek parents and Chinese parents associations operated outside of the school and neither they nor the schools' principals made any real effort to communicate with each other and exchange information. A situation existed, then, in which each autonomous collectivized client group had no reciprocal exchanges of inputs with the service organizations, and there was little or no attempt by the service organizations' key boundary personnel to open up communications. The result of this is that there are no means of resolution/re-

> gulation of conflict across the service organization-client boundary as there is no mutually agreeable normative order nor any quasi-parliamentary body to deal with issues and problems. Moreover, the great social distance and lack of communication between the clientele and service organization resulted in the absence of either solidarity or trust across the service organization-client boundary.

(3) The present and near future -

> With the surfacing of the vice-principal transfer issue at Ogden; the lack of input from the school to the community and vice-versa, and the persistent lack of agreement on means of settling conflict between the autonomous client group and the service organization, may lead to the C.P.A.-O.P.C. and Orde and Ogden schools to rely more and more upon the amount of raw power each can bring to bare in order to force one's will upon the other. On the other hand, the extensive affiliation of the Greek parents with the F.C.C. is resulting in closer, more harmonious relations between Frankland and the Greek community.

The situation at Ogden was least slightly more co-operative then that at Orde because of the addition of the Chinese-speaking vice-principal in a boundary office to help facilitate communications between the school and community. But now this effort has indirectly contributed to further weakening whatever trust and solidarity there might have been across the client-service organization boundary, due to the Ogden Parents Committee's attempt to retain the vice-principal by calling for the transfer of the principal. The "laissez-faire" (Litwak & Meyer) attitude of the immediate past principal at Frankland and the inclusion of F.C.C. representation on the selection committee for the new principal has meant continuing acceptance of the Greek cultural program by the incumbents of the leading boundary personnel office despite very little school input into the program. The work of the Board's social worker-interpretor, the Greek parents affiliation with the F.C.C., and the departure of the G.R.O. when the Greek program was granted, have all been factors contributing to the decreased autonomy of the Greek parents group at Frankland.

It is small wonder that the relations between the 'Greek Parents Section' of the F.C.C. and Frankland Public School are quite cordial in comparison to the relationship between the Ogden Parents Committee and Ogden Public School. This is not to say, however, that the Greek parents are a more 'effective' community group.

The discussion above and in previous sections suggests some general theoretical conclusions arising out of its treatment of the data. We have seen that although it need not always be the case, many members of both the school and the community do interpret school-community relationships in win/lose terms and as such are suspicious of each other and adopt protectionist attitudes. To overcome this situation and to make use of the goodwill shared by those who appreciate the non-zero sum aspects of school-community intercourse, the development of mutually agreed upon norms governing the shared use of power and influence across the school-community boundary is required. Moreover, the creation of a more or less formal school-community association is also beneficial to the development of closer ties and co-operation between school and community in that it is a mechanism through which each group can exchange information, ideas, and opinions on a regular basis. The role of the principal has been shown to be of great importance in the process of the exchange of inputs across the school-community boundary. The data indicates that if the principal encourages the free exchange of information and co-operation between the staff and community members, and also allows or supports the development of a school-community group, there will be greater shared understanding, solidarity, and trust. Yet, even though the exchange of inputs (through formal as well as informal means) is essential to school-community co-operation, the social economy of the community and the accompanying social distance between itself and the school in part

dictates not only the amount of exchange but also the mechanisms by which such exchange can take place.

Again, let us summarize the general theoretical conclusions that can be drawn from the theoretical interpretation of the data. Initially, if the power arrangement across the service organization-clientele boundary is interpreted as a zero-sum, win/lose, situation by all or some of the participants; the creation of trust and solidarity between the two groups (i.e.: shared normative agreement, etc.) can be achieved through an increase in the formal and informal exchanges of inputs across the boundary. The leading boundary personnel of the service organization plays a key role in determining the frequency and intensity of these exchanges, but the social economy of the client group and its social distance from the service organization also is a contributing factor in determining this frequency and intensity as well as the mechanisms of the exchange of inputs.

ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Chart A (on the next page) shows the development of the F.C.C., the 'Greek Parents Section' of the F.C.C. and the Odgen Parents Committee (O.P.C.) through their various organization stages and also indicates the concerns and composition of the groups at these stages. It is interesting to note how revealing the official or semi-official titles of the groups are vis-à-vis their evolving patterns of membership and issue orientation. From the chart we can see that all three groups developed out of, or passed through, a stage during which they were concerned with specific programs into their present form in which they are concerned with a wide range of school issues. The F.C.C. (anglo section), as an auxiliary group with constant

CHART A

		membership	concerns
	F.C.C. (anglo section)		
1.	Frankland Home and School Association	parents and principal	limited, traditional
2.	Liaison Parents Board	parents with teachers	volunteer program
3.	Frankland Community Council	parents, teachers, principal	various school issues
	F.C.C. (Greek section)		
1.	Greek Parents Association of Frankland and Jackman Schools	G.R.O. worker, parents	Greek program
2.	'Greek Parents Section' of the F.C.C.	parents, Board, social worker-interpretor with anglo parents and staff in the F.C.C.	Greek program and general F.C.C. issues
	O.P.C.		
1.	Committee for the Development of Chinese Language and Culture	local trustee, University settlement workers, parents, and other members of Chinese community	Chinese program
2.	Chinese Parents Association of Orde and Ogden Schools	University Settlement workers, parents	Chinese program
3.	Ogden Parents Committee	University Settlement workers, parents	various school issues

and vigorous participation of staff as well as parents, has matured to such an extent that new normative commitments and lines of communications joining school and community have emerged, or are emerging, such that local community input into the school has become an accepted and routinized fact of life. The O.P.C., as Chart A indicates, is an autonomous client group supported by an outside agency and is without the participation of the school's staff. The O.P.C. has not gained the acceptance of the school personnel as has the F.C.C. and subsequently many of its efforts to make inputs into the school have been viewed as inappropriate client behavior by the school staff. Consequently, any collectivized parental (or organized local community) input into Ogden (or Orde) is an extraordinary phenomenon, upsetting the 'normal' functioning of the school. The Greek Parents Association of Frankland and Jackman Schools has moved in a different direction than its 'language program' counterpart, the C.P.A. The Greek parents of Frankland are no longer supported by an outside agency but are now affiliated with the school's auxiliary client group (the F.C.C.) and make use of the services of the Board's Greek social worker-interpretor. While the social worker-interpretor and F.C.C. supply a means of communication and exchange of inputs between the school and the Greek community they also act as a buffer maintaining some of the group's original autonomy. If severe difficulties arise concerning the Greek program the Greek parents can revert back to the

totally autonomous Greek Parents Association of Frankland and Jackman Schools where they can mobilize more collective power. Given the low social economy of the Greek parents and the high social distance between the Greek community and the professional school staff, one can appreciate that some security is derived from maintaining membership in an autonomous neighborhood association. It is possible, though, that in the future as the Greek parents become more integrated into the F.C.C. and accustomed to its format and procedures, the 'Greek Parents Section' of the F.C.C. will sever its ties with all autonomous groups and use the general F.C.C. as its support group and source of collectivized client power. The inactivity of the Greek Parents Association of Frankland and Jackman Schools and the initiation of simultaneous translation services at F.C.C. meetings lead one to believe that this development may possibly occur in the near future barring unforeseen circumstance.

Let us now consider more specifically the difficulties of organizing urban, lower-working class, 'culturally disadvantaged' ethnics. The data collected in this study suggest that such communities may require the inspiration and support of an outside social agency. To arouse community interest there also needs to be a clearly defined substantive goal rather than general or ideological concerns. In that language and cultural differences act as barriers to direct personal parental participation in schools (i.e.: as volunteers, etc.) the social distance between school and parent is too great for an auxiliary

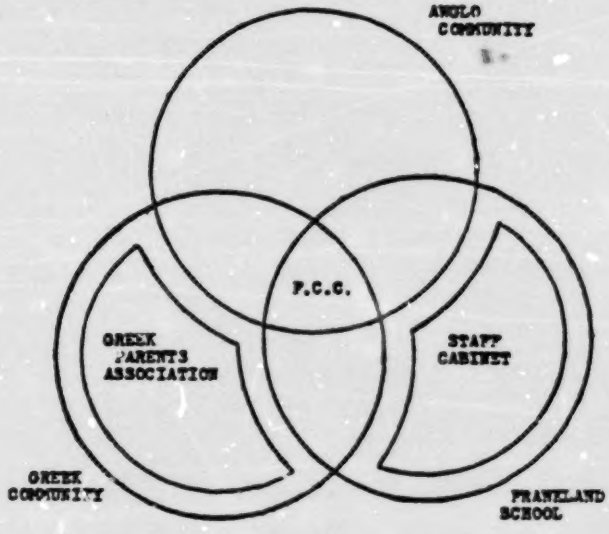
community group to emerge naturally as a cooperative school-community organization. Moreover, the lack of organizational, administrative and parliamentary skills on the part of largely immigrant communities make autonomous neighborhood groups a more comfortable and attractive alternative to associations auxiliary to the school - i.e.: parents might be uneasy or even intimidated in dealing directly with professional educators in a one to one debate. For example; the F.C.C. originated with individual parents acting on an interpersonal basis with individual staff members as volunteers, and later developed into an organized client group. Conversely, the C.P.A. started out as an organized parent group because only as a collectivized client association could they mount enough social strength to deal with the school on a more or less equal footing. It is only lately that a few Chinese parents capable of holding their own in direct exchanges with school personnel are beginning to emerge as leaders. The more 'sophisticated' middle class anglos of the F.C.C. have always been interested in a wide range of school related issues whereas they have found it difficult to get the Greek parents to share some of these concerns. Yet recently both the Greek and Chinese parents (i.e.: the Ogden Parents Committee) have become more aware and actively involved in school issues other than their respective cultural programs. It would appear that as time goes on the ethnic community groups are learning to manage themselves better and that those outside agencies which initi-

ated these groups' formation are playing more of a support role and less of a guilding role. As the scope of community interest in school matters broadens it is becoming increasingly evident that provision must be made for regular formal exchanges of information and discussion between the school and the autonomous client group. The continuous exchange of inputs across the school-client boundary, leading to constructive dialogue between the school and the autonomous parent organization, is necessary to avoid divisive, mutually alienating confrontation situations involving raw power plays.

SCHEMATIC INTERPRETATION

Despite the overlapping membership of school and community in the F.C.C. (i.e.: staff are also members of

DIAGRAM 1

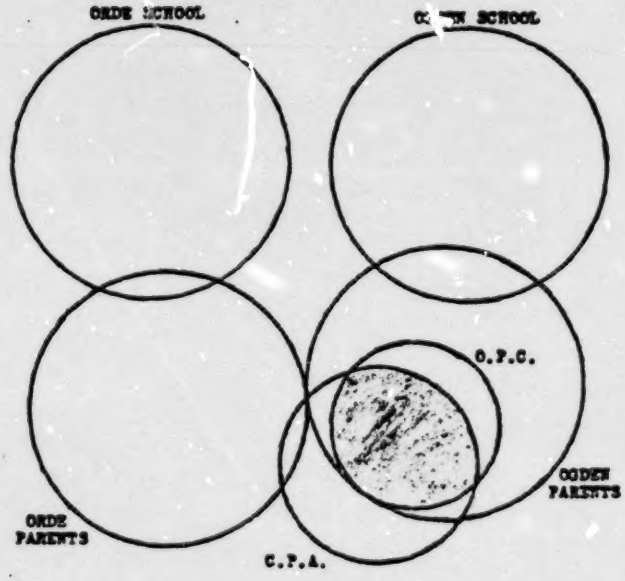


the auxiliary community group) and the unanimous agreement of parents and teachers on the 'educational assistants issues', the unauthorized use of the F.C.C. letterhead by a few parents and teachers lead to discord between some staff and community F.C.C. members. This is one indication that there is a need for formalized rules and procedures in the group's problem-solving process. Good intentions and a spirit of cooperation alone are not enough to ensure the resolution of the sometimes many faceted problems which the F.C.C. encounters.

The F.C.C., represented by the intersectional area of the three circles representing the anglo community the Greek community, and Frankland School in Diagram 1 on the previous page, consists of anglo and other parents as well as Greek parents and school staff members. Any decision made by the F.C.C. is as a result of the participation and collaboration of these groups. The new principal, chosen by a committee with staff and community representatives, believes in shared decision-making (i.e.: with parents and staff). The presence of the key boundary person, the principal, holding such views as he does, obviously facilitates the process of participatory decision-making. The Greek parents meet separately to discuss the Greek program and maintain their membership in the Greek Parents Association of Frankland and Jackman Schools. The staff of Frankland Public School also have separate meetings as the Frankland Staff Cabinet (the double lines in Diagram 1 represent the independence of

the Staff Cabinet and the Greek Parents Association from the F.C.C.). The only collection of persons who do not hold membership in a separate group and belong exclusively to the F.C.C. are the anglo and non-Greek parents. The indication is, though, that the increasing use of formal 'staff position' statements from the Staff Cabinet, and the reorganization of the highest F.C.C. executive positions into the offices of 'school co-ordinator' and 'community co-ordinator' will result in a more clearly (if not formally) defined 'parents only' sub-group. The apparent trend towards 'de facto' division of the F.C.C. into school and community 'camps' will necessitate the development of more formalization of rules of debate and

DIAGRAM 2

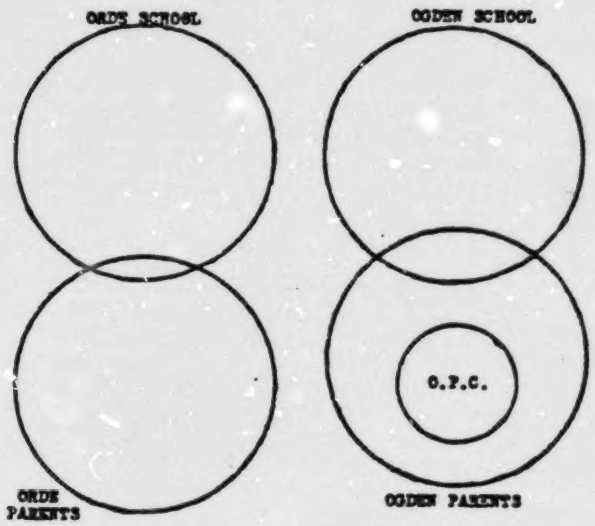


decision-making, enabling the F.C.C. to function as a parliamentary type of body. In this role the F.C.C. would continue to provide the necessary contact and exchange between school and community that is needed to avoid a confrontation such as that at Ogden over the vice-principal transfer.

Diagram 2 on the previous page offers some explanation of the situation at Orde Street School and Ogden Public School. As indicated by the small intersectional area of the circles representing Orde School and the parents of Orde one can see that there was little interaction of parents and staff at Orde, and not much more at Ogden despite the presence of the Chinese speaking vice-principal. The circle representing the C.P.A. indicates that it was predominantly composed of Ogden parents, other Chinese community members and 'outsiders' such as the University Settlement workers. The Ogden Parents Group (O.P.C.) is a group open to all parents of Ogden School but its active membership is overwhelmingly made up of C.P.A. persons. The shaded area in Diagram 2, representing those parents active in both the C.P.A. and O.P.C., is the real focus of parent activity and power within the local community surrounding Orde and Ogden schools. It is, as shown, a completely autonomous group of parents operating independently of the schools. Its membership is not open to school personnel and no formal relationships beyond the administrative arrangements made for the Chinese-Canadian Bicultural/Bilingual Immersion Program have been

established. What may well happen if the Chinese program is dropped, or becomes a more and more routine aspect of the schools' curricula, or is even taken over by the Board (i.e.: funding and supply of teachers and resources) is shown in Diagram 3 below. The role of the C.P.A. would

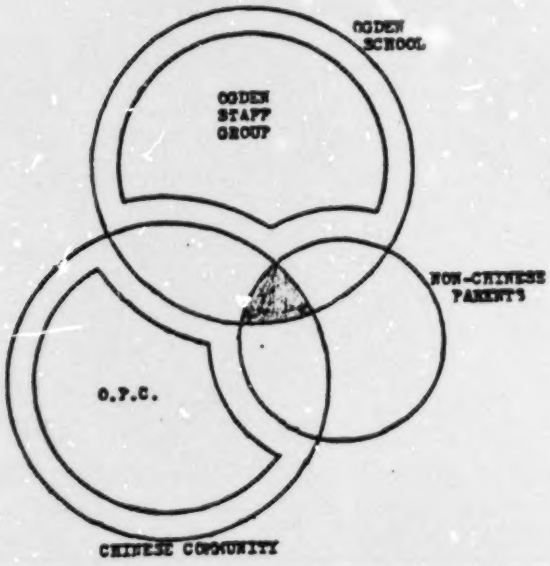
DIAGRAM 3



diminish, leaving the O.P.C. as the most active group. There would be no organized parent group at Orde as a result of the virtual non-participation of Orde parents in the C.P.A. The O.P.C. would remain an autonomous parents group functioning without the participation of the school staff as did its predecessor, the C.P.A. The circumstances depicted in Diagram 3 show the Ogden community and school at a stage in which the first two necessary conditions for the resolution of conflict between service organization and clients - (1) the recognition of the conflict situation, and (2) the formation of an organized client interest

group - have been met. If the third condition - (3) agreement on formal procedural norms and means - were to be met, the situation would evolve into one similar to that of the F.C.C. (see Diagram 4 below).

DIAGRAM 4



The double lines in Diagram 4 again indicate that both the Ogden staff and the O.P.C. are separate groups who meet individually. The smaller circle for the non-Chinese parents is an indication of their small numbers (about 10% of the school population). The shaded area (the intersectional area of the three circles in Diagram 4) repesents that quasi - or semi-parliamentary body created as the result of the 'agreement on formal procedural norms and means' (i.e.: the third necessary condition) for conflict resolution. The great need for formal means of

communication, interaction, and regular exchange of inputs between school and auconomous community group leads one to believe that the state of affairs in Diagram 4 are a distinct possibility in the not too distant future despite the tensions of the present. Should the trends suggested above in Diagrams 2 through 4 develop significantly it could be said that there may be a pattern of 'convergence' towards similar organizational forms and modes of school-community interaction in auxiliary and autonomous community groups.

VII. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The current movement towards 'community schools' and the increased demands for community control or at least greater community input into schools has created a pressure for change in many urban school systems. The typical centralized urban school board is often looked upon as being too large and bureaucratic, and hence unsatisfactorily responsive and insufficiently flexible to respond in an adaptive manner to local community wants and needs. Community control through the decentralization of large urban boards into a number of smaller autonomous or semi-autonomous local boards has been attempted elsewhere, yet the possibility of such action in Metro Toronto is at this time slight at best. The mounting cost of education and the seemingly poor return the public receives for this large investment has heightened public awareness and interest in educational issues. As a result, many school trustees in the Toronto area (and elsewhere in North America) have become more responsive to their constituents and more politically active in seeking changes in the schools. Concurrently new innovative school-community groups have emerged to replace the traditional Home and School Association or P.T.A. These groups, some closely affiliated with individual schools and others strictly autonomous community organizations, may well be the most effective means of local community input into schools within a centralized urban school system. This is not to deny that input is possible directly through the publicly elected trustees on

the central policy-making board, but particular local neighborhood needs would appear to be more easily met in individual schools through 'grass roots' interaction between parents and the school staff. No doubt school boards will exercise a great deal of influence upon the kind and amount of local community input made into the schools under their jurisdiction. In any event, the successful implementation and continuance of community initiated and sponsored changes in local schools are in large part dependent upon the cooperation and support of the school personnel. Ergo; it is advisable, if not necessary, for the local community to secure the backing of the school involved.

When the community involved is a middle class English speaking one the common socio-economic backgrounds its members share with the school's staff; the numerous organizational and communicative skills of its members; and the relatively abundant social resources (i.e.: financial, political, etc.) at its disposal make a cooperative staff-parents group, auxiliary to the school, a viable mechanism for community input into the school. Local school programs and policies can generally be worked out jointly after some discussion between school personnel and community members. Whenever an issue arises upon which consensus across school-community lines cannot be attained, a mutually acceptable set of formalized procedures should be followed so that some compromise can be reached. The mutual acceptance of such procedures must be based upon whatever informal normative agreements have developed in preliminary staff-

parent interaction and debate. If it became necessary the central school board could act in the role of mediator or arbitrator for unresolvable school-community disputes.

The case for urban lower-working class ethnic (immigrant) communities is very much more problematic. Such communities generally lack the basic skills (eg.: language) and social resources (eg.: time) that an auxiliary school-community group requires of its members. Moreover, cultural differences and lower levels of awareness of educational issues make it often improbable that ethnic parents will organize themselves to meet school problems. The schools themselves have had great difficulty in attracting minority group parents to participate and make contributions to school programs and projects. Outside social agencies, employing personnel with the appropriate language and cultural skills to take upon the task of recruiting and organizing ethnic communities have found success when there is a single salient school issue about which the passions and energies of parents and other community members can be aroused. A clearly visible and well defined goal, coupled with the support and guidance of an outside social agency are factors which can generate considerable collectivized parental involvement. In that these neighborhood groups are organized by an outside agency, generally meet outside the school building, have meetings conducted in the minority language, and have memberships which can include parents of several local schools as well as non-parent community persons, they are

'autonomous' community associations rather than 'auxiliary' community-school groups. The tendency is for these autonomous groups to deal directly with the board of education bypassing the local schools. The presence of the outside agency, the bypassing of the local school, the community-wide membership, and the autonomous nature of these groups all contribute to the large social distance and small amount of communication between school staff and community.

Realizing that joint cooperative action between school staff and parents is to be preferred, school boards should take measures to ensure that there are at least some formal meetings between autonomous community groups and schools. All boards of education should not endorse any proposal presented to it unless there is shared approval and commitment from both parents and staff of the individual schools involved. The boards must recognize that the ultimate success or failure of a community initiated program rests upon the degree to which the school personnel supports and endorses said program. With this in mind school boards should also endeavour to have the school and autonomous community group establish a quasi-parliamentary body wherein issues of mutual interest may hopefully be resolved to the satisfaction of both parties. Where an auxiliary school-community group is already functioning in a quasi-parliamentary role the autonomous ethnic parents group could be partially integrated into the existing group through some sort of affiliation while maintaining its independent status. Whichever methods are used to bring the school and

community together to discuss educational issues, the autonomy of the community group must be respected. Those very circumstances (social, linguistic, etc.) which lead to the initial formation of an autonomous type of community group mitigate against the success of a completely auxiliary group involving working class minority parents. This kind of situation need not be looked upon as problematic in as much as auxiliary school-community groups also require some formal quasi-parliamentary rules and procedures, and apparently move toward more distinct school/community differentiation as they develop.

Under the present North American system of education, which features formal schooling carried out by professionals within a bureaucratic structure, the boundary between the clients (the consumers of education) and the professional educators (the producers of education) is fundamental and real regardless of how submerged it has become in contemporary 'community school' rhetoric. This being the case, the importance of the schools' boundary personnel, primarily that of the principal, is not to be underestimated. In the performance of his functions his actions and attitudes can widen the gap between school and community or generate trust and solidarity between the school staff and parents. Within the new order of things (i.e.: participatory decision-making) the principal has to behave as a moderator during the shared decision-making process and not as an enlighted despot. In other words, the principal is not a pawn, he can maintain a firm

orientation and exert much of his own influence, yet he must 'hang loose' (Blumberg, May, & Perry, 1974). This 'hanging loose' is a very difficult task and the principal must have the appropriate talent, temperment, and convictions to successfully fulfill the new role requirements. Some provision should be made to prepare incumbants to meet the new challenges which contemporary public school principals encounter. Specifically, when faced with an active community group, the principal at the individual school level should endeavour to;

(i) open up easy lines of communication;

(ii) establish regular more or less formal meetings;

(iii) develop a close informal liaison with community leaders;

(iv) encourage as many staff members as possible to become actively involved with the community in the development of programs, etc., and

(v) initiate discussion of issues of mutual school and community interest.

The recommendations contained above tacitly assume that basic difficulties arise out of a lack of communication between school and community, and confusion over the proper procedures of joint school-community problem-solving. The objective of quasi-parliamentary rules for auxiliary school-community groups is not to supplant the informality of an open forum but to delineate procedures to be utilized in

the event discord threatens to develop into deadlock. For autonomous groups the goal and great expectation of the establishment of regular formal quasi-parliamentary meetings is that through increased staff-parent interaction and exchange of ideas, a new normative agreement will emerge creating trust and solidarity across the school/community boundary. When this trust and solidarity is realized, local community input into urban public schools will be a flexibly structured process in which the school staff actively participates.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

*

*Adapted from: North York, Ontario. Board of Education. "A Report on the Community-the School." January 1972.

Please read the following questions and place check marks in the appropriate boxes.

1. Is the community group active in your school concerned with the following dimensions of school operation:

		Recommendation Only	Establishing or Determining Policy	Not Concerned
(a)	School rules and regulations (apart from those set by government regulations)	___	___	___
(b)	Curriculum	___	___	___
(c)	Makeup of school staff	___	___	___
(d)	Allocation of school funds	___	___	___
(e)	Use of School facilities by Outside groups	___	___	___
(f)	Other areas (please explain)			

_____

_____

2. Does the principal of the school have a veto power over any recommendations made to him by the group?

Yes ___ No ___

3. Would you briefly describe the make-up of this committee (e.g. - 3 parents, 2 students, 2 teachers, etc)

_____

_____

4. Is membership in this group on a voluntary or appointed basis?

Elected ___ Voluntary ___ Appointed ___

Who makes the appointment? _____

5. How often would this committee meet with the school's administrative staff?

Daily ___ twice a week ___ weekly ___ every two weeks ___

monthly ___ once a semester ___

6. Do the members of this committee represent a specific group of parents or students in the community?

Yes ___ No ___

7. If you answered YES to question 6, describe the role that this group of parents or students plays in the community

_____

_____

8. Is the committee actively working with the school administration at this time?

Yes ___ No ___

9. Does the committee meet regularly without the presence of school administration?

Yes ___ No ___

10. Do you know whether the committee has any future plans for the expansion of its activities?

Yes ___ No ___

11. If you answered YES to question 10, would you elaborate as to the direction these plans are likely to take.

_____

_____

12. Does this committee have any sub-committees responding to it?

Yes ___ No ___

13. If you answered YES to question 12, would you elaborate as to the responsibilities of these sub-committees?

_____

_____

14. Does the committee have a budget which does not include the school operating budget?

Yes ___ No ___

15. If you answered YES to question 14, what are the sources of the funds?

		How Much
(a) School Board or other government agency	____	_____
(b) External Source	____	_____

16. Do any of the members receive a salary or honorarium for serving on the committee?

Yes ____ No ____

17. Are minutes and records kept of the proceedings of meetings?

Yes ____ No ____

18. Are outside observers permitted to come to the meetings?

Yes ____ No ____

20. Are there any aspects of the committee's organization or responsibilities that you feel are unique and that would be of interest to us? We would be pleased to have you elaborate on this.

_____

_____

21. Have you experienced opposition from the school teaching staff to the operation of the community group within the school?

Yes ____ No ____

22. Have you experienced opposition from higher administrative officers of the school board towards the operation of the community group within the school?

Yes ____ No ____

23. If you answered YES to questions 21 or 22 would you elaborate as to the nature and reasons for the opposition.

_____

_____

24. Has the principal experienced any difficulties in his relationship with this committee?

Yes ___ No ___

25. If you answered YES to question 24, would you elaborate on the difficulties?

_____

_____

26. How influential do you feel the committee is in affecting the operation of the school?

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all influential	___	___	___	___	___	very influential

27. Have you at any time felt that this committee represented a threat to the position of principal?

Yes ___ No ___

If YES please elaborate. _____

_____

28. Does your school have volunteers drawn from the community to directly assist teachers?

Yes ___ No ___

29. If you answered YES to question 28, would you give some indication as to what duties the volunteer help would assume.

_____

_____

30. What are the major drawbacks in having a community group such as you have operating within a school?

_____

_____

31. What are the major advantages in having a community group such as you have operating within a school?

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